KASHMIR OPPRESSED

ARTHUR BRINCKMAN
AND
ROBERT THORP

About the Book

Picture to yourself, Oh reader! those desolate scenes where the Kashmiris had to lay down their lives! Non, save those who have seen such, can fully realise their horrors. No imagination is powerful enough to realise them; the waste, hopeless aspect of the unbounded stretch of snow; the intensely keen blast of the wind, which strikes you with the force of an eagle's wing as it sweeps down upon you through the revines; above and around you are snowy peaks and summits, and precepitous slopes of rock, upon whose edges sits the avalanche waiting for his prey.

Through such scenes heavily laden Kashmiris take their way. Powerful and hardy are the sons of Kashmir, patiently they toil onwards through the drifting snow, in the name of Allah and his Prophet! Many encourage each other with the words of hope, it may be that they will yet reach the other side in safety.

Slowly the conviction fastens upon them that they shall never quit those frightful solitudes, never see again their homes, nor those, who dwelt there, waiting their return, far off in the sunny vale of Kashmir!

(Continued on back flap)

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Kashmir Oppressed

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AND
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Publishers Note

Kashmir Oppressed is a compilation of two contemporary works of two British individuals, one clergy missionary and other a scenic visitor. Both face a situation where they devote less time for their desired goals and instead are moved to pen down the condition of the people of Kashmir who are in poverty, in misery, in suppression, in suffocation all put together in oppression. This is the time when the dawn of the modern civilisation appeared in many parts of the world particularly where the Western people desired so. Britishers, one among such people at the top of list, are pioneers of the spread of justice and liberty during this modern period. It is obvious those who are claimants of this hereditary race must be proud of their those ancestors who were champions of decency, ethics, civilian rights and what not.

Kashmiris, however found themselves in a deplorable condition then. They witnessed three of their 'masters' changing, in a spate of about one week, without their hand in 'selecting' any. It was a *tamasha*, a drama behind the curtain. Sikhs lost war in the Punjab against Britishers. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, a beneficiary of the Sikhs, deceived the Sikhs and helped the Britishers in this fraudulent fight. For the war indemnity the Sikhs were made to hand over Kashmir, which then formed part of Lahore government, to the Britishers. They in turn diabolically sold Kashmir to the wily Dogra, Gulab Singh, for his help to them, and deceit and treason to the Sikhs. None in Kashmir knew all this nor did any one deplored this disgraceful, undignified and cruel act of the Britishers. This may be the only instance in the

history of mankind when not only the land and its soil, the resources and its natural abundance but also the people and their fortunes were sold by a people who were looked up as the one whose public actions were based upon other than selfish considerations. This is now history, as is the one when not long ago the same people almost single handedly resisted the oppressor of Europe and through the terrible campaign, in which they sacrified the lives of their best and dearest, said in an upright stance to despotism. "Thus far, and no further". That was in the West, Kashmir is in the East and every thing about decency was not thus considered; and the people of Kashmir in the year 1846 were sold into a slavery by those who among the nations, led the way to the abolition of slavery from the west.

This contemptuous act had many effects, particularly political and psychological- on one hand Kashmiris lost everything, land, soil, ownership rights, valour, honour, dignity, physical appearance and on the other Britishers, then undoubtedly the first among the nations in the world looked themselves down as an upright dignified people. They realised it soon, more because the political situation outside Kashmir was fast changing particularly because of the expansionist designs of the Russians. To balance their position they tried to make their re-appearance in Kashmir and retain some of their lost dignity. But the 'masters' of Kashmir, who bought their lot from these politically 'conscious' men tried their best to keep them at bay. This anecdote can be best understood from the following dialogue of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and his British conversant (*Condemned Unheard* by William Digby, 1890, London)

Mr. Edward E. Meakin, in an address delivered at a meeting of the East India Association in August, 1889, said

Kashmir Oppressed

- I wish particularly to allude to the necessity of maintaining the confidence of the Indian princes in the justice of the English government. Now I am afraid that the present position of affairs with regard to 2 or 3 of the states is not such as to inspire the confidence of the native princes. I will relate an incident which occurred in the year 1876. I was one day sitting by the side of the Late Maharaja of Kashmir (Ranbir Singh) talking over various matters, and his eldest son, the present Maharaja (Pratap Singh), was seated on the other side of him. The Maharaja suddenly turned to me and said "I learned a great thing by my recent visit to Culcutta. Some of my people urged me not to go, saying that no sooner should I leave my territory then I should find myself a sort of honoured state prisoner, something like Shah Shooja when he visited Ranjeet Singh, who would not allow him to cross the Sutlej until he had left the Koh-i-Noor behind him. They said that it was an open secret that the British government wanted to annex Kashmir, and that it was only a question of time and skillful maneuvering and that I should be inveigled into allowing the first step towards the attainment of that object before I should be permitted to return to my own country" - His Highness concluded with a derisive laugh. I remarked that the safety of His Highness's Dominions lay in a good administration and the encouragement of trade and commerce. I also told H.H. that he must be careful not to give any excuse for the British authorities to interfere, he might always rely upon the English press to defend his rights. After a pause he said: "Sahib, what do you call that little thing between the railway carriages? It is like a button stuck on a sort of gigantic needle that runs through the train, and when the carriages are pushed at one end or the other and you hear *"houff, houff"*, and bang they go against the poor little button. I felt very sorry for the poor little button, but it is doubtless useful in its way. What do you

call it"? I replied that I believe it was called `a buffer'. "Buffer, buffer", repeated the Maharaja in earnest tones. "Yes, buffer, that's just what I am, and that shall henceforth be one of my titles". He directed Dewan Kripa Ram to see that it was written down correctly. I was puzzled for a moment to know what to say or do. I felt a fear lest some other European might come after me who might make H.H. think that I had been hoaxing him. I begged to be allowed to explain that in the English language the word `buffer', when applied to human beings, had another signification, which could not be applied to H.H., as it was a term of derision. "Never mind", said he, "It is all the same, I am buffer; on one side of me there is the big train of the British possessions, and whenever they push northward they will tilt up against me: then the other side of it is the shaky cancer Afghanistan, and on the other side of it is the ponderous train and engine called Roos (Russia). Every now and then there is a tilting of Roos towards Afghanistan, and simultaneously there is a tilting upwards of the great engine in Culcutta, and I am the poor little button between them. Some day, perhaps not far distant, there will be tilting from the north, and Afghanistan will smash up. Then there will be tremendous tilt from the south, and I shall be buried in the wreck and lost; it may not come in my time, but it is sure to come when that poor little button is on the pin" - pointing to his son, the present Maharaja, who laughed merrily at the novel idea.

In such a political situation Kashmiris, however, suffered. They as slaves were forced to do what their masters desired and some of it is aptly narrated by these two Britishers in their accounts. Aurther Brinkman, a Christian missionary on clergy duty in Kashmir was forced by the situation in Kashmir to write unfearfully the injustice and oppression perpetually committed on the people of Kash-

mir. He was soon followed by Robert Throp. Unmindful of the consequences he picked up again the subject of liberty, injustice and oppression for his work, for which he had to sacrifice his life in Srinagar. These two contemporary works thus provide some of the events of those suffocating conditions that the people of Kashmir were living in because of that diabolic sale of Kashmir. None of these short banned accounts reappeared again; even though Throp's work was reproduced some fifteen years back but only after making some additions where by its face was changed. We have thus reproduced the original accounts but together for the first time in their original colour and without alterations, for the connivance of our readers, particularly the younger generations, under the new little as both the works present the story of oppression.

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The Wrongs of Cashmere

Cashmere Misgovernment

The Wrongs of Cashmere

A Plea for the deliverance of that beautiful country from the slavery and oppression under which it is going ruin.

Arthur Brinckman
Late Missionary in Cashmere

"In conclusion, whatever may have been its former history and its previous, Cashmere is now undoubtedly a very fine province, it possesses a delicious climate, admirably adopted to the European Constitution; its soil is exceedingly rich and fertile, and under skillful cultivation and an enlightened Government, there is no reason why the Vale of Cashmere should not maintain its reputation as one of the fairest spots on the earth's surface". ---- Cashmere Handbook by John Lnce. M.D.M.R.C.S., L.S.A.L., B.M.S.

PREFACE

The object of this little pamphlet is to inform the British public of *five facts,* of which it seems to be ignorant.

Firstly, that there really is a beautiful country, called Cashmere (Kashmir), situated in Asia, and that Cashmere is not a mere name distinguishing a peculiar kind of shawl.

Secondly, that this country, Cashmere, a short time ago belonged to us, but that we sold it, against the wish of its inhabitants, to Ghulab Singh.

Thirdly, that since this noble bargain was concluded (1846), the poor Cashmeres have been shamefully oppressed by the rulers we put over them, and that this oppression is getting worse and worse.

Fourthly, that for the last fifteen years, these unhappy people have been asking us in every way they could, to release them from their wretched condition.

Fifthly, that the ruler of Cashmere is tributary to us, and bound by treaty to acknowledge our supremacy, yet he is allowed to insult us continually with impunity, and to persecute Christians.

In short, to get Cashmere well governed, is what I am trying for; how this is to be done, ought soon to be decided for many reasons. The only plan that I humbly think would secure this object would be annexation. Those who think they know Cashmere affairs better than myself, will, I hope, suffest a preferable plan if they can. My hope is, that this little pamphlet will bring Cashmere and its present wretched condition into the notice of the public and the press, and that Government will be called on to release that unhappy country from the oppression and misery which the Indian authorities have allowed to exist there for years. How to arouse Government, I must leave to others. Public opinion in a worthy cause can exert its influence on Ministers,

without any of the ranting clamour and abusive spouting, which is the fashion of some disturbers of the peace, who seem to delight in finding fault with the Government in presence of mobs. I hope that some member of Parliament will bring the matter before the House; that the press also will join in calling attention to the Wrongs of Cashmere, and then I have every reason to believe that our Government, which any country might have confidence in, will do what is right as politic. The Indian Government seem to be ignorant of affairs in Cashmere; at least they seem to know little from official sources, which is by no means surprising to myself and some others. I am aware of some of the obstacles that prevent the truth about Cashmere affairs reaching that ears of the powers in India. Sir John Lawrence and Sir Donald M'Leod are both of them men who would grieve as much as any one over a ruined country or an oppressed people, if they could see with their own eyes what goes on in Cashmere. But grieving for Cashmere does not help it; sympathy and no assistance is of no use. This pamphlet is badly written, but, with the Appendix, informs the reader of the wretched condition of a beautiful country we threw away, of the misery of people we sold against their inclination, and of their united cry to us, to set them free once more.

Some of my readers in India will be surprised at my silence on certain matters. I can but assure them that Government has not offered me anything to be quiet, but that I simply think it best to let the things take their chance of being exposed by others or not, or of coming to the surface themselves. In speaking of Cashmere, I include all the territories of Rhumber Singh (Ranbir Singh).

Arthur Brinckman
40, Berkeley Square,
December, 1867.

CHAPTER - I

In trying to arouse public attention to the state of things tolerated by us in that ill-fated country of Cashmere, it will be as well if I try and show that my motives are entirely disinterested. There is no result of any kind that I wish to obtain, except the release of a suffering state of our own from its present melancholy condition. As a clergyman I can expect no possible advantage from writing this book, for in showing up the state of affairs in Cashmere, allowed there by the ignorance or the choice of our Government, I am not pursuing a course likely to induce that Government to offer me either a living or a chaplaincy, or anything else that I could possibly be supposed likely to covet. Neither have I any ambition to bring myself into public notice, and except that I consider it right for a person accusing all sorts of people of all sorts of misdeeds to do so openly, I would not have published my name in this book at all. To make a few pounds by this pamphlet, if it sells well, is certainly not my reason for publishing it. I would sooner pay some one else to do it, if a suitable man could not be found for the work. It is something more than" the suggestion of a few friends" (whom no one ever believes to exist) that has prompted me to come forward. I am told that Cashmere ought to be at once brought before the notice of the people at home, that they only want to be told of what things go on there and they will insist at once on matters being changed. I am told that not being a government servant, no one is so free to move in the matter as myself. Numerous officers civil and military,

who know something of Cashmere affairs, are comparatively tongue-tied, being servants of the Government, whose fault, whose crime it is, that such abuses exist in Cashmere as do abound there. Moreover, I am supposed to know more about Cashmere affairs than almost any other European (not having been there natives than most men, having had greater intercourse with the natives than most men, having also for some long time made 'oppression in Cashmere', a subject of inquiry). To put myself forward just now as champion of Cashmere, was by no means a pleasure, as others know fully well. I had also wished to remain out there longer, working quietly as a missionary, but, after much anxious thought, and after receiving the advice of greater men than myself I reluctantly resolved to return to England at once to try and get the condition of Cashmere ameliorated. Some said, "If you fail, you will never be able to come back to Cashmere again." Some said, "If you fail, the Rajah will only be encouraged to go on worse than before, and the state of things in Cashmere will be more intolerable than ever." Some said "It is not the business of a missionary to do anything but preach to heathen." Others said, "You will only get laughed at and terribly cut up in the papers," As to the first objection," the chance of failing, and its bad effects," I can only say, that if a fiftieth of those who have been in Cashmere (and who have said far harder things of its Government than I have now published with double their experience) will but back me up in forcing the public attention to this matter there will be no chance of failing. As to the duties of a missionary I think it the business of every one to get his face against injustice and oppression, and to try and get wrongs redressed that loudly call for relief. As for making myself ridiculous and getting laughed at, I am quite prepared and hope to survive it all. I am not afraid of the press, my hope is in it. I only wish the editor of the *Saturday*

Review (that terror of rush authors) had taken a walk with me in Cashmere once or twice last summer, I am sure he would have insisted on writing the pamphlet himself. It has also been suggested, that many will say, "you are only a disappointed missionary who, being bullied by the Rajah of Cashmere, and finding no success in converting the inhabitants of that land, went home to vent his wrath upon the place by abusing it." I can only reply, that in the Indian papers none have spoken more cheerfully than myself of mission work in that country. I do not think there is a mere promising field anywhere, considering all the circumstances. A missionary often has a far more disagreeable time of it when preaching in the Punjab, or any other part of India, than in the streets of Serinaghur (Srinagar). I cannot recollect at this moment ever receiving anything approaching to an insult, or even an uncivil word, when preaching to Cashmeres. Dr. Elmslie, the medical missionary, is perhaps the most popular traveler that ever resided in Cashmere. Four men in the last two seasons left their homes and became Christians, and are now living for safety in the Punjab. Others, I believe, would have come forward, had not their fears of the Rajah kept them back. Considering the proclamations of the Cashmere Government, it is wonderful that any of the people ever dare come near a missionary at all, even by stealth, like Nicodemus. The first convert that was baptized in Serinaghur was put in a ***dungeon*** with a log of wood chained to his leg, and only released at the intervention of the British Resident. Every one seen frequenting the mission premises is reported and punished. The missionaries are surrounded by spies all the day long, armed sentries are posted at all the avenues leading to the mission tent, to prevent the people coming and yet, for at this, the people who are sick manage sometimes to steal by, and inquirers risk all this as well. Serinaghur has not seen

anything yet to make its inhabitants think highly of Christianity. Our allowing the Cashmereé to perish yearly in hundreds by the Rajah's famines and misrule, our having sold them to a tyrant, and then turning a deaf ear to their constant cries for help, is not calculate to make them think much of the religion of the great nation whose fault it is that all these things take place. No; I have no reason to doubt that Cashmere may some day become, as Vigne hoped, "the focus of Christianity in Asia, the centre of a religion as pure as the eternal snows around it." I think it may also be said that it was a pity the wrongs of Cashmere were brought into notice by a missionary, as people and the Government may think they are wanted to be made use of for furthering proselytism in Cashmere, and so they may be less inclined to help that country. I quite agree with those who think that the less a missionary trusts to aid from the Government means to show equal favour to all religions in India; and this is insisted on in the Queen's proclamation, that intolerance, when brought to the Queen's notice, will meet with her marked displeasure. Now this alone would justify by asking the Government to mend matters in Cashmere, and so far help mission work there; but I have revealed very little in this book concerning the conduct of the Cashmere Government towards Christians, inquirers, and missionaries. The Diwans may well wonder, as some of them will, at my forbearance. When the country is governed by us (which must very shortly come to pass), then Mullahs, Missionaries, Lamas, Sikh priests, and Brahmins, can all work away without fear or favour there. I wish in this book simple to write as an English eye-witness to the oppression and misrule calmly tolerated by us in the dominions of our subject, Rhumber Singh. No matter who brings these things before the public, they are facts whoever deposes to them, they are such as require instant action whoever writes about them. Throughout this

book I have understated matters; I have not shown up all I might, but have chiefly, almost entirely I think, confined myself to points that have been already noticed by writers in the Indian newspapers. I think that what little has been published of doings in Cashmere by the Indian press, is probably only known to and proved by myself. I beg the reader to realise clearly these following facts before perusing this book, and I will remind him of them as I proceed:-

Ist. That Cashmere and its people were sold by us to Gholab Singh (Ghulab Singh) for 7,500,000 rupees in 1846.

2nd. That this sale was against the wish of the people, who were allowed no choice in the matter.

3rd. That the Rajah of Cashmere is our tributary, bound by treaty to acknowledge our entire supremacy, and is not an independent prince but our subject.

4th. That some of the matters referred to in this pamphlet have before this been brought to the notice of the Indian Government, and that its remonstrances and injunctions to the Rajah have either been very weak or not attended to by him, as things in that country get daily worse and worse.

I have no personal animosity against the Rajah; I sincerely believe he has no better friend than myself. I look on him as a weak ignorant prince - a puppet in the hands of his Diwans. Then I honestly could, I have defended him in the Indian papers, but though he does not know all that is done in his name in his dominions, yet the state of things there is the result of his apathy and weakness. I am a far truer

friend than those who only talk softly with him, and who keep pandering to his pride, hiding what is notorious for him, and letting him and his Darbar go on in a way that must sooner or later compel us to act toward him in a very stern manner. He said to me himself; "I know I have many enemies around me." I think the Rajah would like to be released from the evil hands into which he has fallen. He has not one atom of authority or power in Cashmere, except when he issues orders that please the set who rule him. Neither have I any personal ill feeling against any of his Diwans. Kirpa Ram, the most dreaded and unpopular of them all, I found to be always most civil, most obliging me friendly in manner to me, so far as regards my interview with him. But I have nothing to do with the civilities I myself received from the Rajah or his Diwans. Few natives in power in Cashmere would not be civil if they thought it their interest so to be. The Rajah, poor man, is responsible, next to us, for all the misrule of Cashmere. Ten years have proved him utterly unfit to govern the country. Our constant remonstrances (if they have not been sent, more shame on us) have been unavailing, Cashmere is daily going from bad and worse to utter ruin. The country has never said to the friends of Gholab Singh, and to his son's friends, our subjects, to rule over to our dishonour and detriment. There is no remedy but immediate annexation, and this annexation ought to take place at-once.

I can see no remedy for the evils in Cashmere except annexation, and in this instance I know of no valid objection. Quietly to seize an independent kingdom governed by a Rajah, simply because we think it good policy to do so, is most unjust, but as regards Cashmere things are different. Grant that kingdom to be an independent state (which it is not), then if annexation is unjust, why is not war at once

declared against it, and the country taken by force? Men who cry out against annexation cry out for war when England is insulted, or her commerce unjustly interfered with, and therefore can have no objection to war being commenced against the ruler of Cashmere. Let the reason for all the wars we have undertaken during the last two hundred years be considered, and it will be found that no independent king has given us so much cause of offence as the ruler of Cashmere, our own feudatory. War (at present) with Rhumber Singh is absurd. I would undertake to handover the country to an English governor without one soldier to help me, or one life being lost, if written authority were given me by the Indian Government. If the inhabitants of Cashmere were allowed the choice, every one of them, except a few in power, would give their vote to be governed by the English. Why are they not asked who they wish for their ruler; Victoria, or Hindu Diwans? Every man, women, and child in the place would welcome us, and are now calling to us to free them, and govern them and turn out the vultures that prey upon them. As yet their entreaties have been of no avail, the Rajah has bought over and won over many who, if they chose, could have moved even Sir Lawrence to rouse himself, and insist on Cashmere being fairly treated. But instead of Sir John's mild remonstrances being cared for in Cashmere they are positively laughed at; the manner in which the Viceroy, the governor of the Punjab, and the Resident are humbugged, as regards Cashmere, is a never failing sources of amusement to a few of my friends in the Serinaghur Durbar. The things that are palmed off upon these excellent worthies as facts about Cashmere are almost too absurd for even their crudelity. And so I can see no remedy but annexation. Inquiries ordered by the Viceroy into affairs in Cashmere would discover nothing. A committee of inquiry sitting in Serinaghur would be a farce. The

childish may our authorities have behaved towards Cashmere has put things so much into the hands of Rajah's friends, that I really believe if Sir John Lawrence was to visit Serinaghur, raise the British standard on one side of the Jehlum, and invite those who wished for our rule to flock around him, that all the people would cross over and shout long live the Rajah. And why? Because the Cashmerees see how long the Rajah has cajoled and insulted us with impunity, and they see how utterly weak in diplomacy and everything else we have always been in all our actions regarding Cashmere. But if the thing were done properly (no child or native sent up as Commissioner), and the people could see that we were prepared not to listen to interested nonsense any more, then the day of the annexation of Cashmere would occasion one of the most affecting scenes that Asia ever bore witness to. That land, with its "traditions coeval with the flood," the garden of the world," the paradise of Asia," "the vale of Cashmere," would suddenly seem touched with a divine hand. Thousands and thousands of exiles would return to their land once more; the spot that now is the scene of vile oppression and abominable misrule, would change from a scene of ruin and decay into a busy happy colony of subjects of England. Until this happens, let every one who writes and talks about our fostering care for the people of India, our justice, our mercy, our honour, our religious tolerance, and our hatred of oppression be silent. No historian or legislator who loves truth can talk of our enlightened rule in India, and the blessing it is to natives, so long as Cashmere remains trodden down and trampled on as at present, giving all such assertions the lie.

CHAPTER-II

In the debates in Parliament concerning the advisability of sending an expedition to liberate the Abysinian captives, one of the strongest arguments put forward by men who know something about Eastern politics was this: "If we do not at once act in a very decisive spirited manner, in this matter then our prestige by which we rule India will be greatly damaged, the consequences of timid or lethargic action in this affair may be productive of the most disastrous consequences to the stability of the government in our India possessions." This was well said; the natives of India do not yet obey us for love; it is not their affection for us, their rulers, which prevents their trying to turn us out of India. It is the prestige attached to the British power throughout the world, the belief that though we are infidels or unclean, yet that they cannot stand against us in battle array successfully; the knowledge that when we consider ourselves insulted that satisfaction is at once demanded, and if not obtained, that we take it by force of arms, whether the offender be powerful or weak. It is these ideas of us that keep the Mussulman, the Hindoo, and Sikhs, from rising against us, if they wished to do so. Anything that tends to lower our prestige, anything that shows the people of India that sometimes the lion can be bearded in his own den with impunity, that sometimes we can be treated in a way that we should never think of treating our own subjects, and yet not notice the insult, such things, I say, will weaken our power and the hold of its dread upon the natives of India. It is all

very well to talk of winning the people to us, our good government, and so making them see that it is for their own advantage always to be loyal to us, but, unfortunately, few natives reason as we do; those making plenty of rupees under our raj may tolerate us for a time, and gladly, but the masses, if they think or reason at all, consider that all the improvements we effect in the country, and all rupees that are laid out to benefit, are only for our own purposes, and the more we improve the country by what we do for it, the more they covet to possess it again. If India ever becomes Christian, perhaps we may trust more to gratitude among the people for the advantage bestowed by our rule over them; but for a very long while to come, we must be constant to feel ourselves obeyed, simply because we are the strongest. When that strength is doubted then, and then only, is there danger in India of losing our authority over that country. No doubt if the people rose tomorrow and killed every European in Hindoostan, we could very soon take and conquer it all again; if the natives are allowed to have reason to think that they have it in their power only to shake our government a little, or ever to treat it in an offhand way, to disoblige, to throw discredit upon it, to cajole it, or to offend it with impunity. Now the Cashmere Government is not only daily, by its acts and diplomacy, running our prestige in India, but in Central Asia as well. If the French (much as we dread them according to some) were once to treat us as the Maharaja of Cashmere daily behaves towards us, our ambassador would be recalled, and war declared in a week. It is no use saying we must be jealous for our place and honour among the nations of Europe, and that we can afford to be insulted by feudatory Rajah, just as a mustiff may despise a cur who insults him, with no loss to his dignity. We *cannot* afford to be laughed at in India by any one, we cannot afford to be quietly treated in a manner by one of our own subjects

which would make even the mild Hindoo, were he a king, to order his troops to arms to punish the offender, even though an independent sovereign.

Until Cashmere is ours, it will be a sharp thorn in our side. At present everything connected with that country is poisoning our reputation, not only in India, but in Central Asia also. Our policy from first to last as regards that unhappy lands has been unjust, unfeeling, unworthy of us, and suicidal. The following assertions and remarks I make knowing them to be true and just, and they will prove, I think that our conduct towards Cashmere, and that of the Cashmere Government (put there by us), towards ourselves and towards the unfortunate people we sold to them, has been productive of much that is spoiling our prestige as Christians as just,as haters of oppression, as powerful, as defenders of the poor, as tolerant regarding religion, and as protectors and encourages of commerce.

1. First be it remembered, that, as far back as 1820, two envoys were sent to us from Cashmere asking for protection.

2. That it was a cruel injustice (nothing in the annals of slavery was worse) selling Cashmere to Gholab Singh at all, the injustice being the greater, as an inoffensive people, who never harmed us, (who once had asked us to govern them, and who still wished for us to be their masters instead of Gholab Singh, whowas hated from Leh to Jamoo[Jammu]), were handed over to a tyrant, whose antecedents had caused his name to be hated by the Cashmerees.

3. That it is a source of serious discontent amongst the Mussulmans in Cashmere, and not there only, our having sold so many followers of Islam to a Hindoo

idolater, to rule over, and terribly oppress as well.

4. That the Mullahs pray daily for us to come and govern Cashmere and the whole of that country echoes the prayer.

5. That the Government is so bad in Cashmere, that it is a great reproach to us not to do away with it as that country prays.

6. That hundreds and hundreds of Cashmerees die yearly, owing to the avarice and oppression ot the Rajah.

7. That the Rajah has several times voilated the treaty between our Government and Gholab Singh.

8. That the famines in Cashmere are not caused as a general by the failure of the crops, but by the locking up of the grain by doling it out in handfuls at exorbitant prices, and by sending the grain out of the country to sell in the hills near Ghilgit (Gilgat); the peasants, whose labour produced that grain, being forced to carry the loads to Ghilgit themselves, where hundreds of them die from cold and starvation yearly, with loads of food on their backs.

9. That the Rajah has attacked neighbouring hill tribes sometimes without our permission, violating Article 5 of the treaty.

10. That this causes ill feeling among those tribes towards us, they knowing that the Rajah is bound by treaty with us not to take up arms against them at all without our special permission and sanction.

11. That false reports of these affairs are sent to us by the Rajah, or published by him, to make us think

that an excellent ally we have, keeping these frontier tribes in check at no expense to ourselves.

12. That the Cashmere Government is in the habit of sending false reports of affairs in that country to some of the Indian newspapers.

13. That the head of the Cashmere Government sends false official reports to the English Resident at Serinaghur, knowing these reports to be false, and the natives knowing it also.

14. That the Rajah has been for some time levying duties and customs from people who are not his subjects but *ours*.

15. That he has been in the habit of preventing commerce falling into our dominions, by *force*.

16. That he has compelled traders by *force* to come through his territory, who were coming to us, in order to levy money from them.

17. That he has annexed territory to his own without asking our permission. See Article 4 of the treaty.

18. That the trade ready to flow to Hindustan from Yarkund (Yarkand) Khoten, Tatary (Tatar), and other places, is stopped by the treatment traders receive from the Rajah's officials, which fact damages our prestige and popularity in those parts of Central Asia.

19. That the inhabitants of Cashmere are not allowed to come into our territory, no one being allowed to come without a pass, which seldom is obtained without having interest or giving bribe.

20. That hundreds of Cashmerees escape over the hills

to our territory yearly, leaving their country, their homes, their families, solely on account of the oppression and misrule rampant in their own land.

21. That that country, said by all to be so fruitful and so fair is comparatively going to waste, and becoming depopulated year by year.

22. That "slavery", in every sense of the term, exists in Cashmere, no man having anything of his own, not even his soul and the care of it - everything, the land, the water, the food, and the refusing, the weeds, being the Rajah's.

23. That everything is in the hands of the Rajah, so that there is no chance for private enterprise - no encouragement to genius; in fact, to be in appearance in possession of money is a crime, unless much of it goes to the Rajah.

24. That the Rajah will not allow a British gentleman to remain in his dominions during six months of the year. Persians and others with whom we may happen to be at war being allowed to remain. Afghans, Ghilgitees, Yarkundees, Tartars, Bengalees, Punjabees, strangers of all kinds remaining while the countrymen of the sovereign to whom the Rajah is tributary, whose supremacy he acknowledged by treaty, are turned out of the country in November.

25. That the conduct of the Rajah and his officials towards us brings great discredit upon us, *we only* being allowed up as visitors as a treat for a time - the Rajah fixing the date of our coming and going, sending spies to watch and report upon many of the visitors, rendering things unpleasant in numerous

ways, so as to make the country unpopular with us.

26. That the Rajah increases the price of supplies to visitors, year by year with a two fold object, - to make gain of us in particular, and to make us think that Cashmere after all is not such a fruitful country.

27. That the Rajah makes us buy our provisions from himself, at a fixed rate, which is most exorbitant, getting the English Resident yearly to sign the tariff paper. People wishing to supply Europeans at their own prices, being forbidden so to do and punished if detected so doing.

28. That contrary to the spirit of this extract from the Queen's proclamation, 1858, religious toleration does not exist in Cashmere, it being a crime in Cashmere for any one to become a member of the same religion of the Queen who issued that proclamation, and of whom the Rajah is a subject, and whose supremacy he acknowledges," We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions, of our rights, to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfill. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity,

and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects.

" *We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observation, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religion belief or worship of any of our subjects, no pain of our highest displeasure*".

29. That men have actually been persecuted and imprisoned, for inquiring after or professing Christianity in Cashmere.

30. That not only is religious toleration not shown to its people, but that hindrances are put in the way of our having divine services. The English visitors having to worship in the upper-room of the residency sometimes, a building most unsuitable for a place of assembly for worship.

31. That the Rajah has distinctly refused permission for the English to build for themselves a suitable place for the performance of divine worship.

32. That the object in making us worship in the residency is not seeking our benefit, but an interested plan of the Rajah's.

33. That we have not a foot of land wherein to bury our dead; that the Rajah will not even allow us to keep and consecrate an acre of ground wherein to bury officers who die. Bishop Cotton was allowed to

read the consecration service over that spot where the graves were, but with the condition that the land, the tombs, everything there, were to be fully understood to be still the *sole property* of the Rajah, he in return engaging to keep the graveyard and the tombs, in repair, which he does not do. This year (in the early part of it) until a complaint was made, the place was in a disgraceful state.

34. That a proof of the country being comparatively depopularised owing to oppression, is the fact that no woman under any pretext whatever is allowed to pass out of the country.

35. That instances have occurred when the authorities have stopped English travelers who had Cashmere servants, and locked those servants up. In one case, a gentleman and his wife had to witness their Cashmere servant, who was carrying their baby in his arms, turned back through a large village, baby and all;

36. That it is very seldom if an English visitor is annoyed or insulted in Cashmere, that he can obtain any redress or satisfaction whatever, except promises which are not fulfilled.

37. That every possible difficulty is thrown in the way of procuring supplies except ascertain places, for certain reasons.

38. That while the poor peasants are forbidden to bring their supplies to the English visitors for sale, that women of improper character are allowed to come freely, because they are all tax prayers to the Rajah. I mention this simply to show the avarice of the Rajah's Government, and its oppression of the labouring classes.

39. That if a *moonshee* comes to the bungalows to teach Cashmeree to a European, he is threatened and punished, if his visits are repeated, by the Rajah.

40. That the Rajah only allows us fifteen annas for our rupee in Cashmere, his annas being far inferior to ours, while his own wretched *Chilkee rupee* is valued at ten annas.

41. That, according to the Rajah's own reports, the cholera was far worse in Cashmere this year than in any other part of India. By his own account it is a hot bed of cholera, and as he refuses to do anything to try and stay its progress in his dominions, it would be as well if we took Cashmere, if only for the reason of making it healthier, and stopping the spread of that pestilence.

42. That owing to the indifference and cruelty of the Rajah's Government, hundreds of lives were needlessly lost by its inhuman behaviour, while cholera was raging this year in Serinaghur.

43. That intolerance as regards Christianity is carried to such a pitch, that men coming to the medical missionary to have an operation performed, have been prevented so doing, and have died in consequence.

44. That sentries are regularly posted to prevent people coming to the medical missionary.

45. That no only are the Cashmerees persecuted for coming to the medical missionary, but that Pathans have also been thus dealt with.

46. That the Rajah takes bad characters from our army

into his, and that his sepoys cannot return to Hindostan without bribing, or escaping back over the hills.

47. That not only are Cashmerees forbidden to quit the country, but our subjects also, unless in the services of European visitors.

48. That although the Resident has no authority to punish a Cashmeree, yet the Rajah has in one or two instances seized and put in chains our subjects who have been accused of crimes in Chasmere.

49. The Rajah will not improve his roads, thereby hindering traffic and inconveniencing us.

50. That if it is true that the Russians are advancing, as said, they can have a fair pretext for quarreling with us, and attacking Cashmere at any moment, owing to the manner the Rajah oppresses the traders coming from those lands which will soon be Russian according to all accounts.

51. That the Rajah's Government have been in the habit of combing readings, and destroying letters sent to Europeans in Cashmere.

52. Article 9 of the treaty: "The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gholab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies."

Let us make our own enemies, not let ourselves be bound any longer to defend a prince whose wretched court may plunge us into a War at any moment by its mean policy and intrigues. There is not an officer of the Indian army who knows anything of Cashmere that would willingly draw his sword to uphold that tyrannical collection of *bunnias* (mer-

chants), the Cashmere Durbar. And yet by that treaty we are bound to defend the Rajah from his enemies. Are we then willing to send British troops across Cashmere to engage armies subsidised by Russia on the borders of Gilghit and Ladakh.? Russia perhaps does not want to fight us in Central Asia; but will Russia, when approaching Ladakh, allow herself and her traders to be treated as we have been? If the Rajah is friendly to Russia, he will be an enemy at any time to us; if he treats Russia as he has treated us, Russia will subsidise and send a force from the Gilgit direction that would punish him severely, or also insist on our doing it. If he is fiendly to Russia, on their approach, then such conduct demands our wrath, for why did he not act friendly to us, his masters, to whom he swore allegiance? For better let Cashmere be ruled by us, and win the neighbouring countries to us at once, by helping them in commerce, than let a collection of men from the plains of Hindustan, our own subjects in the Rajah's service, draw us into an Asia war by their grasping oppression for self, which is alienating the poor Cashmerees from us for not freeing them and making them ready to welcome any one, Russain or Turk, as a deliverer from the cruel shameful bondage into which we sold them. If we are bound to assist the Rajah against his foes, why have we not done so? Depend upon it, if it was a righteous war at Gilgit, the Rajah's would have asked our assistance before now.

CHAPTER - III

Justice and humanity require that we begin to govern Cashmere ourselves. If it is not right, yet political interest ought to induce those who think more of politics than justice and humanity, surely it is expedient as well as right to rebuy it. If you sell a man a beautiful horse, or rather give him one at a nominal price, surely most men would consider it right to take back the animal if its new owner immediately began to starve and beat it to death. Surely all the English blood that was shed in fight with the Sikhs till March, 1846, was not poured forth to gain Cashmere, in order to sell its innocent people into slavery, into the hands of grinding oppressors. Surely it must be our duty to govern those people who pray daily for us to come and free them from the yoke under which we bound them. Surely England has conquered many a fair land against the wish of its people, and called it glory, and never a sin; Then why not why not rule over those people whose voices, whose prayers, whose degradation and sufferings, and whose living blood calls us, if not to avenge, at least to free them? He who is dead is called at rose, but the blood of the living calls as loudly as that of the dead Abel. One blow, one pang, and many a murdered soul is set free, but lifelong bondage is living death. It is not one Cashmeree, not one discontended peasant, not the Mohammedans only, but the Pundits also, it is all Cashmere, that groans under a rule that would plunge any people into misery that endured it. If a man worked his horse from sunrise till dark daily then took some of that animal's food

to sell, and let his groom do likewise, then all England would cry shame. "Shameful cruelty to a horse," is an attractive heading to a newspaper paragraph, but the same cruelty to living human souls is either not believed or not cared for in England, if it happens out of it, sometimes. At almost any pothouse you can hear songs about old England, "the land of the free," the dread of the slaver," and so on: but in Cashmere slavery exists simply because we uphold the slaver. How many slave ships have we taken since 1846? How many of the slaves in them have we restored to their homes? and how much money have we spent in putting slavery down? All the same good results can be affected with a stroke of pen. "Annex Cashmere," these two words would, if sent to the Viceroy in India, set free at once more than four hundred thousand slaves, and enable a hundred thousand exiles to return to their homes and country.

We talk of ruling natives by their affection, *acts* of kindness wins them; it would be a cheap purchase annexing others, who, if not conciliated soon, may some day help our foes. The other Rajahs are said to be jealous at the licence allowed to the ruler of Cashmere, who in their ideas, is only the son of the adventurer Gholab Sing. The Cashmere gate at Delhi sets one thinking, that possibly our conduct to Cashmere was one reason God allowed the mutiny. Many orators told us that the mutiny was a punishment for our sins in India and failure of duty towards it. If this was the case, then one of our great sins was our treatment of Cashmere, selling a country against its wish to a tyrant, for a sum of money, and then for years refusing to listen to the cries for freedom of the slaves we bound and sold?

Hundreds of objections will of course be raised. Let us look at some that have been raised by the Rajah's friends and others.

1. "To annex Cashmere would be to break a Treaty."

To this I reply, the treaty is broken already by the Rajah himself, and that the treaty was an unjust one. That in the recent settlement of the Mysore Question it was said, if the Queen's Proclamation was not faithfully observed, that all trust in our Government would be gone. For the same reason these paragraphs of that proclamation should be attended to at once, and the Rajah made to feel Her Majesty's great displeasure by putting an English Governor over Cashmere.

2. "It might involve us with Russia," or with somebody somehow or other.

Better to involve ourselves than letting it be done for us. If Russia seeks territorial aggrandizement, she is more likely to advance near us with Rumbher Singh as the ruler of Cashmere, than if we ruled that country. The Cashmere officials, by their conduct, are more likely to provoke her to war than we are. If the object of Russia's advance is commerce, she must either win over the Rajah or sweep him away, as the great hindrance to commerce in Central Asia is the Cashmere Government. By annexing Cashmere, we should please the French, they are the Chief buyers of the shawls, which are yearly getting dearer and worse under the extortions and oppressions of the Rajah.

3. "The expense". The great objection of course.

Unfortunately no expense would need to exist.

If properly ruled, Cashmere would pay us ten times over, and far more than any other spot in India does. The country would pay as a sanitorium the force to keep it in order a mere nothing. And if a large force was required, better to have one there ready, than to march an army there at a week's notice, to drive out enemies who will pour into it some day if things go on as at present.

4. "The people are a despicable lot."

Starve a dog and then call it a cur. I know the Cashmerees as well as anyone; in their own country no one knows them better; and I unhesitantingly aver, that considering the circumstances we compelled him to live in, that a Cashmere is as fine a character as any in India. If one had a son, and flogged, punished, worked him from seven till he was twenty years old, I suspect that youth would turn out a mean-spirited, inferior, man. The poor Cashmere is like a mouse trying to drink milk with an army of cats in the same room with him. The Cashmere dresses dirtly, walks sloughingly, does everything slyly, lies constantly in order to save himself from oppression, from the suspicion of not having enough for himself and his family. Spies, reporters, bribery, threachery, are all among and around them; they sometimes are afraid to speak much to each other, and are afraid to talk of their wrongs even sometimes to each other, every one is suspicious of his neighbour. When in the plains, he is a stranger, if a Cotwal is after a thief and cannot find him he will be sure to collar and accuse the first Cashmere he can, he having no friends. When

bargaining with us, they do not lie worse than Hindustanees; as regards stealing, I have always found them to be far more honest. I have seen for more thieving, cheating, and roguery of all kinds practised by servants of the plains than by Cashmerees both in the Punjab and Serinaghur. It is all the more reason for annexing Cashmere (abusing the people) half their voices being the fruits of long periods of misrule. They are as clever as any people in India, for more so than any I ever met with there. If schools were established in Serinaghur, I believe, in course of time, the Cashmere students would beat any class of students in India in almost any subject. Those who keep calling us to educate, educate, educate, the natives; (to do so without teaching Christianity is simply digging away the ground under our own feet) ought to join the cry" Annex Cashmere." The Rajah will not allow education there, but to blind us, sends us a few thousand rupees occasionally to our Punjab Schools. The Cashmerees are not allowed to improve in any way by the Rajah." Keep them grinding for our benefit,' is the sole thought of their rulers. If Thomas Hood had ever been to Serinaghur, the "Song of the Shawl,' would have made him more pathetic than he has in his" Song of the Shirt."

5. "Our breaking the treaty would make us distrusted in future in our promises to natives."

Again, I say the Rajah is already the violator of the Treaty, and that as he has broken it we are bound no longer, in honour to ourselves, to treat him as if he was blameless. This conduct lowers us

> far more in the native opinion, it creates jealousy, makes them wonder at our motive in tolerating his conduct so long. Certainly those who made that silly treaty with Gholab Singh only gave him Cashmere to be ruled over, not for the people to be torn from their homes to die in the snows in Gilgit, to die of starvation in the midst of luxuriant crops of all kinds, to toil like slaves and then not to have enough to live on, while the food is often reserved for sale till it rots, and then is doled out to those who can bribe the Pundits to sell them enough for a day. It is not as if I was the only person who sorrows over the wrongs of Cashmere. Almost every traveller who goes up there comes back saying that a shame it was to sell it, and what a shame not to take it back again. Take the Indian press, even those papers in the pay or interest of the Rajah, admit that the almost unanimous opinion of English travellers in Cashmere is, that it is cruelly oppressed, and ought at once to be annexed.

These gentlemen say the travellers listen to tales that are not true, and that they are mere strangers in the country, and really know nothing of its affairs, but it is not the custom of English gentlemen, after travelling in any state, to come back and tell of its shameful misrule unless it was all true. One or two travellers might come back with such tales, but two hundred would not go there year after year and yet all come back saying that Cashmere is a place shamefully misgoverned. Without being prejudiced, I have always observed that those who persist for their own objects in screening the Rajah, either from ignorance or worse reasons, continually publish untruths. Assertions such as the following have been made:-

"That Cashmere is the best ruled province in India."

"That the streets and roads are kept clean by the Maharaja"

" That hospitals were built all over the country immediately the cholera broke out".

"That a famine was prevented by the noble exertions of Kirpa Ram, 1866".

"That the people are happy and contented".

"That the Maharaja had remitted in one year, 1866, twenty five lacs of revenue; and so on"

Every single statement here quoted I assert to be contrary to the fact. What object can officers have to gain by crying down the Rajah?

The majority of men go to Cashmere for shooting. Nothing disgusts an Indian sportsman more than to hear his favourite region for game is going to have a cantonment built near it; and yet these sportsmen are the very men who come down to the plains again saying we ought to govern Cashmere ourselves. When almost every traveller says it. When all the people themselves say, it. - When there is the unanswerable proof of hundreds of Cashmerees flying yearly from their country to ours for refuge, it is simply folly to try and throw discredit on the fact. Most travellers who go to Cashmere, go, I suppose, to enjoy themselves and not to inquire about the oppression said to exist, and yet they return to the plains saying Cashmere is greatly oppressed. I went to Cashmere to work, and not to play, and studied

continually to get at the truth of the matter. To see the oppression is easy enough to prove each act and trace it to its source is harder; but this I tried to do, and I proved that oppression exists for than any one dreams of that I have yet met with; and I solemnly declare that the oppression in Cashmere allowed by us there to exist is a crying sin in the face of God, and a disgrace to our Government. Travellers will know, sometimes tell you that they heard no complaints, or that the people seemed contented enough. The people may seem to work away quietly many of them may be happy, never having known a better lot; the ordinary traveller might not see the oppression; though hearing of it, unless he tried to see it. Very good care is taken that Europeans do not see all that goes on by the Cashmere authorities. A gang of convicts seem uncomplaining enough at work, which considering how they are fed and cared for, is not surprising; the Cashmerees are just like so many convicts, - none work for their own benefit. They set to work quietly and with no pleasure like convicts; it is all sowing for themselves to reap and carry to the barns of a hated government and race. The sooner the guns on the Huree Purbut Fort fire a salute to welcome our flag on its ramparts the better the sooner, for the sake of mercy, we annex a country that is more trodden under foot than it was even by Gholab Singh, the better for all. The sooner we turn out that Durbar composed of our own subjects, who use their upstart power only to annoy and insult us, the better for us. There is an old tradition that Cashmere is Eden transplanted to its present site, after the cursed was to be the last to receive the blessing of Christianity. No other kingdom that pays us tribute is allowed to persecute those wishing to believe as we do.

Cashmere is an Asian mystery for Dsiraeli, something more than shawls are looming in the future there. Here is

a grievance for the Irish members, a country as beautiful as "Ould Erin," ever was but ten thousand times more oppressed and worse governed; here is a theme worthy of your eloquence, John Bright - worthy of any man's. You would like a republic, or at all events excite men to dislike our form of government; here is a tyrannical despot living on men we sold to be his slaves, and whom we stretch not a finger to help. Here is a despot with the blood of those on his hands who wished to be your fellow - subjects to a Queen they would love as much as you do. We have been called a nation of shopkeepers - the most cruel bargain we ever made was selling the souls of men. Whether that was justifiable or not here are the men calling to us now to rule over them - slaves praying to us to set them free. Does England not know of, or does she wilfully forget, the existence of such a spot as Cashmere, which might have been and still may and must be one of the fairest jewels of her crown? Because Tom Moore wrote a poem and mentions Cashmere in it, are we to think its existence only a myth? Ladies all know of it by its shawls; shopkeepers call their fine flannels by its name, yet we quietly shut our eyes to all the ruin we ourselves allow to exist there.

I have not the interest, the talents, or the money to rouse the British Empire to do its duty towards poor Cashmere; perhaps others will take up the cause, for it is a good one to plead in. I hope, I pray, and so do many beside myself, that the wrongs of Cashmere will be redressed at once by annexing it. I am not the only person waiting for the answer to the question, will you free Cashmere or not? There is many a Cashmeree wishing success to my mission, and asking his prophet or his stocks and stones, to bless it. Things cannot go on as they are; attention will be forced upon Cashmere , and it must eventually be governed by us

in self-defence. My motive, however, is not for policy but humanity - to set free a people oppressed by our own subjects; and I can only attempt it (being a clergymen, and not Garibaldi) by writing a sixpenny pamphlet to inform my countrymen, whose boast it is to be the haters of oppression, that there is slavery - cruel bondage allowed to exist by us in our own land India, and that Cashmere is like Israel in Egypt, with its cry continually going up to Heaven.

APPENDIX

I print these extracts from Indian newspapers to show the reader that others besides myself have called attention to the wrongs of Cashmere. The Viceroy seems quite indifferent, or wants instructions from home. The press in England may succeed in getting Parliament to take the matter up in a very decided manner, and insist on Cashmere being relieved from oppression governed by us, or annexed, the only way to make sure of the object. Again, I may remark that I have not "told half", the facts, but have under stated things. Those who ought to know something about the state of affairs on the frontiers of India will some day be filled with wonder at their own ignorance as to what goes on under their own noses in and around Cashmere.

CASHMERE THE CUBA OF THE EAST

If the British public were told of a country whence their trade is barred by prohibitory imposts, and themselves excluded except under vexations and dishonouring restrictions of time and place, their first thought would be of China or Japan. But China and Japan have now been opened to English enterprise. If it were further explained that the country in question not only kept its own trade from us, but cut us off from the commerce of a continent, a rich mart for our produce and a fertile field for the supply of our wants, no one would doubt that such a land must be under the rule of a sovereign formidable by his arms or influence, thus to keep the great British nation at bay. Such things could scarcely be believed of a feudatory of our own; lately the petty chieftain of Jummo, now, through our ill - requited liberality, the Maharaja of Cashmere. The father of this prince, who ventures to practise towards us an exclusive policy which we should not tolerate from any of the nations of Europe our equals, received from our hands his dominions and rank not twenty years ago. The interval has been spent by him and by his son in reducing the valley of Cashmere into Cuba; and by us in exalting our own creature until we have almost persuaded ourselves that he is powerful, and him and his ministers that he is omnipotent. A close copy of Napoleon's famous "continental system," by which all the ports of Europe were shut against British commerce, now flourishes on our own frontier, combined with a depth

of national slavery to which we can no longer find, parallels on an equal scale, since Russia has emancipated her serfs, and America her negroes. This obscure Punjab Chief can boast that he is acting with impunity towards the "Lord of the East," in such a manner as once cost Denmark her navy, and Napoleon his throne, at their hands; and is inflicting on the people confided by us to his care, a cruse such as brought the great republic of the West to the verge of ruin but yesterday. He is the representative and source of a policy not merely of protection but of prohibition; not only of political but of personal slavery. And this policy is upheld by British bayonents, supported by the apostles of commercial and social freedom.

It is unnecessary to give a detail of this chieftains' measures against our trade and intercourse with Central Asia. All Northern India knows them too well. Take the following official account as a sample of his proceedings in the one article of shawl-wool. The extract is from a report made to the Punjab government in 1863 by Mr. Egerton, then deputy commissioner of the hill district of Kangra. Speaking of Chanthan, the frontier province of Thibet (Tibet), he writes:- "The influence of the Maharaja of Cashmere, partly from old established commercial intercourse, and partly from his generally having an imposing military force on frontier, while hardly a British police constable has been seen there, is quite paramount, and quite eclipse ours, ... There exist, in fact, two great monopolies - the monopoly of shawls, held by the Maharaja, and the monopoly of shawl-wool, held by the Thibetans (Tibetians) and so they play into each other's hands. But not only does the Maharaja endeavour to monopolise the shawl-wool of Chantham, he absolutely interdicts the passage of the shawl-wool of Yarkund through his territories." Thus, as Mr.

Egerton, views, by monopolising the shawl-wool of Thibet on the east, and interdicting that of Yarkund on the north, he effectually prevents a single ounce of that valuable commodity from reaching British territory; for, "if he supplied himself with Yarkund pushm, he could not prevent the produce of Chanthan which would thus be left in want of a purchaser, from finding its way to Noorpoor and Umritsúr, (Amritsar) whereas, with the cooperation of the Thibetans, he can, and does, exclude the wool of Yarkund." But the climax was reached when, last year, Mr. Forsyth, the commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States, discovered that this feudatory chief was actually levying tribute within the dominions of his liege lords; exacting a tax from our own officials in the border province of Lahoul. Surely never was vassal so insolent since Charles the Bold imprisoned his suzerain, Louis XI. in Peronne Castle.

So much for his conduct towards ourselves. But what will the English nation say when it discovers that it is upholding a great slave - owing dominion. For this must come to light. England must before long arrive at a knowledge of the facts. Slavery, rooted out in the West at the cost of the prosperity of our colonies and of millions of treasures, flourishes in the East under the shadow of the English flag. We sacrifice hundreds of valuable English lives on the fever stricken coasts of Africa to guard against the extinct evils of the slave-trade; and at the same time we exalt among the princes of India the great slave holder who owns, not a gang, but a nation of bondsmen. We decorate him, and point him out to his peers as the ruler whom England delights to honour. It cannot be concealed that Cashmere is one vast slave-worked plantation. The passes are jealously guarded against the tide of fugitives which yet annually escapes into the British provinces. Throughout the year, the villagers, men,

women, and children, are turned out each morning at the sound of a drum to work in gangs under alien taskmasters, at a husbandry of which they are not to reap the benefits. When ripe, the crops of each village are stored in open- air granaries strictly guarded; and when after many week's and even months delay, the whole produce of the country had been duly calculated and valued, the grain is "doled out in quantities just sufficient to keep life and soul together" to use the words of Colonel Markham. Meanwhile, they may starve, should their last allowance happen to be exhausted. This state of things Englishmen have witnessed. For two years, owing to a deficiency in the crops, there had been a famine in the land. In the ensuing year, 1865, there was a splendid crop, especially of rice. This crop had been gathered in and stored. But the calculations had not been completed; the new crop could not be broken in upon; Thus the villagers, who had been starving for two years; must starve on still for week after week in full sight of the beautiful harvest which their fields had produced. At Budrawar, owing to the neighbourhood of the British provinces, the people were at first able during the famine to supply themselves with food. But this traffic no sooner sprang up than it was taken advantage of for fresh exactions by the pitiless officials. A special impost was established; and the starving wretches, who at the expense of a wearisome journey had brought loads of food to save their families alive, found themselves compelled to surrender a great part of their hardly earned supply at the frontier.

And, in the valley itself, when dying from the scarcity which had affected the land, they sought a substitute for their usual food in the fish of their rivers, they were met by a stern interdict from their rulers. And why were they thus debarred from the resource which nature offered them? Because their

Hindoo masters, in their puerile superstition, chose to give out that the soul of the late Maharaja Gholab Singh had suffered transmigration into the body of a fish. Hence this source of supply was interdictected to the whole people, happy at least that his highness' soul had fixed upon a definite place of residence; for, at first, the whole animal kingdom, fish, flesh and fowl, was tabooed to them. An English officer passing up the Jehlum in his boat during one of those years of famine, observed three half starved natives chained naked on the bank of the river, at a desolate spot many miles from any habitation. Each of them wear a necklace of stinking fish, and they had been left thus for three days and three nights already without food or drink. What was their offence? They had been driven by hunger to catch a few fish, in defiance of the interdict, and had been found out. While thus the Maharaja does not accept the responsibility, acknowledged even by the slave-driver of America, of providing with sufficient food those whom he holds in bondage and who enrich him by their labour, he in addition taxes them in every particular that is capable of taxation. Every fruit-tree as it ripens is guarded, and its produce taken over for Government. Every hunter has to pay tributes in kind of the proceeds of his chase. Every one who wears ornaments beyond the common, or clothes better than the roughest, is marked down for plunder by the rapactious officials. On one occasion, noticing a bracelet on the wrist of a village head-man, an English travellers asked whether it was of silver. All the bystanders burst into laughter, while the wearer anxiously assured him that it was only lead, adding, -"silver", why, how should men wear silver in the country of Maharja."

At the village of Atwat, where the remains of terraces on the hill-sides give evidence of the former size of the place, and where tradition affirms that there formerly dwelt a race

of chiefs sufficiently rich to own elephants, the sole inhabitants are now an old man and his wife. A few trees now remain of a grove of fine walnuts near his house. These few are still assessed at the full tax which was formerly demanded when all the trees were standing. Three times has he escaped into the mountains, abandoning both land and house, and three times has been brought back by emissaries from the district officials, who had promised that he should be released from a tax on property which had no existence. Each time he was deceived. although the engagement was made in writing." Now, he told his inquirer," I am too old to fly again, but the Maharaj wont' get much more from the walnut trees at Atwat; for I shall not last much longer."

From October till March. no European is suffered to witness the state of the people; but of this long "winter of their discontent," stories coze out in each returning spring, when the rough work of annual oppression has somewhat abated, and the country is again considered presentable to civilized eyes. One considerable item of this chieftain's revenue is derived from a traffic which most countries endeavour to conceal but which flourishes openly and avowedly in Cashmere. The class engaged in it are owned as slaves by other who were formerly in their position. The authority of the latter is backed by the whole power of the Maharaja, to whom reverts at their death all the wealth gathered during their infamous life. Should one of their bondwomen attempt to leave her degrading profession, she is driven back with the lash and the rod into her mistresse's power. These facts are certain. Here is a prince fit to be decorated with the Star of India; A worthy Knight of an Order of which our Queen is the head; The owner of a whole

nation, he sucks his riches from their life-blood, and stoops to draw a degrading revenue by pandering to their vices. Each nautch girl dances in his services; every cajollery she bestows on her admirers, every gift she extorts from their liberality, is for the benefit of the Maharaja's treasury. To complete the picture, imagine a chief as insolent to British power as he is hard to his people whom he holds in bondage. No Englishmen may come into Cashmere except by two or three prescribed routes. No Englishman may visit certain parts of his dominions .An every Englishman must leave them before the end of October in each year. He may not take Cashmerees who are in his service beyond the frontier. After this it will excite no surprise that, when a medical missionary visited Serinaghur, sentries were posted on the bridges and in the streets to prevent the sick from going to him to be cured of their diseases.

Friend of India.

CASHMERE

From our own Correspondence

The love of money lies at the root of most of the tyranny, cruelty and extortion in Cashmere. Wherever you turn you see proofs of this. But not only so, the service of the prince of Jummo and Cashmere is so great, that at times he has the impertinence and audacity to insult the very dignity and honour of the British Government in India. A notable instance of this has occurred this season in Cashmere. Shortly after the Resident and the first of the European visitors arrived in the valley, a report got abroad that the

double rupee of India had only a value of 15 annas instead of 16 in Cashmere, and that this was by the Maharaja's order. Well, the matter was siftingly investigated, and the report was found to be correct, The Company's rupee, as it is called, is in Cashmere, a tributary state of Great Britain, actually reduced one-sixteenth in value. It is very easy to see how a measure of this kind will operate in the valley. In the first place, Europeans visiting Cashmere will have to pay one-sixteenth more for everything that they buy and pay for with double rupees. For, of course, the natives, knowing that the Maharajs has fixed the value of the double rupee at 15 annas instead of 16, making due allowance for that in the prices that they take for their goods. The natives, therefore, will not allow themselves to be the lesser by this regulation. It is the European who suffer. But the pecuniary loss to them is as nothing when compared with our loss in a political point of view. The natives are greatly puzzled by the British Government puts up with this insult and others like it, if it be true that it is so powerful. Surely, they say the British Government is afraid of the Maharaja, or it would not tolerate such things. This matter was brought to the notice of the Resident at an early period of the season, but nothing has yet been done. This then is one way in which Highness augments his princely revenue, and Englishmen are the losers by it. He adopts other methods to fleece his already improvised Cashmere subjects. The copper paise is the chief current coin of the valley. Every now and then, as often as once in two years or once in a year, the old paise are called in by a certain date, after which date they fall in value as much as one-half. The whole thing is so arranged, that it turns out a very profitable and easy way of making a little money, speedy and decided measures are urgently required for the amelioration of Cashmere.

Friend of India.

Simple and plain in manner, they have become a poor, miserable race, who have been driven even to sell their sons, daughters, and wives, to keep themselves alive .

Letter in Lahore Chronicle.

CASHMERE, A REPROACH TO OUR RULE

We have drawn attention to a few of the milder measures of oppression regularly resorted to by our highly honoured feudatory, the Maharaja of Cashmere. It may well be asked why does the British Government uphold or even countenance a chief who thus opposes our commerce, degrades us in the eyes of neighbouring nations, and reproduces under our protection that system of slavery which is so opposed to our conscience and opinions for it must not be forgotten that, but for British power, his rule would neither have been established nor would it now subsist. Let but our hand be withheld from his public and all connexion with him be disclaimed, and his heterogeneous power would fall to pieces in a year. Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilghit, and Astor, all know how to resist even Sikh troops, and with Cashmere itself encouraged by the success of these frontier provinces, and refusing supplies to his army, a retreat into Jammoo would before long become necessary.

Even now he seems to be preparing for this eventuality; and the Cashmerees point with exultation to the new road to Jumoo commenced under an English engineer, and say, "That is the route by which the Dogras mean to retire." Why, then, does England maintain an evil, which has only to be left alone to right itself? One reply often given is, that

our policy requires the existence of strong native States on our borders in alliance with us, to act as *buffers* against an invading force, say of Russians. This policy, however, was not so successful when applied to Afghanistan, as to induce us to repeat it elsewhere. We attempted to establish a friendly Afghan kingdom under our ally Shah Sooja, in order to guard against an imaginary enemy from the North-West. The result was that we converted a turbulent race, who would of themselves, if properly managed, have proved a most efficient frontier guard to us, into a nation of enemies and friends to any future foes of ours. The consequences are not likely to be very different in the present case. Our buffer policy, if rightly read, would lead us to strengthen the existing obstacles which oppose any invasion. These are to be found in the border tribes of mountaineers, accustomed to their own mode of warfare, and almost unassailable in their own hills. We should carefully abstain from interferring with their independence, but make much of their natural chiefs, while giving the latter plentiful evidence of the greatness of British power. Instead of this, we by our feudatory of Cashmere, have annexed their States, thus converting them into enemies of our dominion; while we have not even gained the advantage of a more consolidated frontier, guarded by all the resources of discipline and science which we can command. The Northern frontier of India is now held alternately by the tribes, and by the Maharaja according to the swaying fortune of a guerrilla warfare. The former are now predisposed to allow access to any invader from the north who will join them in expelling the Maharaja's troops; while the latter even had he the will to support our interests in those quarters, would find his lowlands already hard pressed by the mountaineers, quite unable to cope with an alliance between their local knowledge and civilised tactics. Who that has his undisciplined

levies struggling by twos and threes over the roads, firing their matchlocks at random, or crying like children with the cold on the passes, would like to confide the northern border of the Empire to such a guard, assailed by hardy Russians or their mountain allies. Whole regiments are composed of such miserable materials. Any runaway shopboy or discontented peasant from the chains, has only to curl his moustache upward, buckle on a sword, and call himself a Dogra and a soldier. This is how the Cashmerees describe their oppressors; and their appearance confirm the account.

And is it for this that we have estranged the true guardians of the borders? If we permit a recurrence to our worn out policy of "annexation", let us at least ensure that it be tempered with the benefits which always accompany it in our hands. If we allow this chieftain to include Cashmere and little Thibet within the limits of the Indian Empire, let a British Commissioner or Resident be deputed to see that their administration is not a shame and a reproach to our name. We should provide that treaties are carried out, that commerce is not shackled, that some part of the wealthy which annually flows into the Maharaja's coffers in diverted to public works, in a country where at present the foot of man and a beast are the only road makers. Other Indian princes, as great as he of Jummoo, have maintained contigents disciplined by British officers. This would give some security to the northern frontier. Let Englishmen be declared to have atleast equal privileges with Asiatics in his dominions. Then would be avoided the paradox of Englishmen being ordered out of the country every winter. While their menial servants are welcome to stay; of passes and routes being closed to Englishmen which are open to the rest of the world. Then an envoy from Central Asia, coming from afar to claim the support of the great British nation,

could no longer be astonished by such a sight as he might have seen last year - an Englishman turned back from the easy route out of an English dependency, and forced over snows and ice, while a Parsee shop-keeper, lately cringing for his orders is welcome to every facility and convenience which the road affords.

Friend of India.

It is a work not beneath a Governor-General of Sir John Lawrance's attendants to free Cashmere and our trade from the shackles imposed by the policy of a grasping ruler, who owes everything to us from whom he derives the power to oppress. Call Cashmere Spain and Jowala Sahai Narvaz, and think how soon ironclad and armies would be brought, to the front to check a hundredth part of the insults which are constantly being heaped on British subjects. But they are black.

Ibid.

CASHMERE- ITS RULERS AND THE CHOLERA

(From our own Correspondence)

This valley is deserted by the English residents and the hands of Dr, Elmslie, the medical missionary, have been effectually tied. Notices in the native papers of the oppression of the Maharaja and the notorious Dewan Kripa Ram having attracted the attention of Sir John Lawrence, the Punjab Government has been making investigations into the facts through the Resident, Major Cracroft, and the results is such that the supreme government cannot surely refuse to act at once.From the very beginning of the season

sepoys have been placed at the entrances of all the principal avenues leading from the city to the European quarters. Several of them have admitted that the express reason for their being stationed there, is to stop the sick from going to the Doctor Sahib. This is the statement, also, of many of the Seringhur merchants, and of the few patients who dare to brave the Dewan in their eagerness for medical aid. Several roughly handled, several beaten, several fined, and several imprisoned. Many of those who were able to reach the Dispensary, had to bribe the sepoys to allow them to pass. Two cases among the patients show to what a great extent the local government drive their cruelty and tyranny. The first is that of Sher Ali, a Pathan by birth, and a man of considerable means, whose aged father had played a prominent part in former days in the valley. The father and son came one day to the Dispensary for medicine and advice for the former, who says his age at present is ninety-eight years. The fact of their having been to the mission dispensary soon came to the ears of the authorities, who gave orders that their supply of provisions should be stopped, and that they should pay a fine of Rs. 200/-. The other case is that of Samad Shah, a leading man among the merchants of Cashmere. He was suffering from stone in the bladder, and an operation was necessary for his cure. He was afraid to have it performed on account of the prohibition which the Dewan had issued.

He was urged to go to the Dewan, and to ask for permission to go to the Doctor Sahib. He had a private interview with the Dewan, who expressly forbade the poor man to go the Dispensary, and advised him to write out a petition in Persian for the Maharaja, imploring permission to have the operation performed by the Doctor Sahib. He would not write, for he was afraid that the Maharaja would

order him to go to his native doctor. The most convincing proof of the barbarous inhumanity of the Cashmere authorities is the diminished number of patients. From 9th May, to 23rd June inclusive, 269 attended. In the first year of the Mission, during a corresponding length of time, the number of patients was 595. Last year, during a similar duration of time, the number was 998. The Maharaja is said to have opened 3 dispensaries in the city, but the natives declare this is a ruse they have no faith in them.

Well, what has happened? On 18h June cholera was reported to have broken out in Serinaghur, and the day after, the Resident cut off all intercourse between it and the European quarter. The sepoys became more active than ever, but a few patients managed to elude them in boats. On 20th June Dr. Elmslie, in a polite Persian letter, offered to the Dewan his assistance in the epidemic and received a verbal reply to the effect that he was much obliged and would write next day; but no answer came. On Monday the 24th June, the British Resident, with the doctor in medical charge, called on Dr. Elmslie and asked him what he knew about the cholera in the city. They said they intended establishing a "corden sanitaire", for the protection of the English visitors, and that to carry out this precautionary measure efficiently, four things were necessary :-

I. The closure of the Medical Mission Dispensary as being within the limits of the cordon".

II. Dr. Elmslie ceasing to assemble the blind and the lame on Sundays to give them alms.

III. The boatmen in the service of the European visitors to receive an anna a day extra, to remove the necessity for

their going to the city for their meals.

IV. The prohibition of prostitutes from going to the European bungalows. Dr. Elmslie expressed his willingness to coincide in these measures, though they implied the closing of his dispensary, which was within the *cordon*. The Resident said he would ask that a tent might be pitched on the other side of the river for the dispensary. But those too were within the *cordon*, though they are near the city and far from the European Quarter. The Dewan refused permission even to pitch the tent, then Dr. Elmslie begged for a small house in the city for his work of healing. But no answer has been given. On 2nd July, Mr. Johnson, the Government doctor and Dr. Elmslie assured themselves of the existence of cholera in the city, and by 6th July, the station was deserted by the English visitors, including Resident, doctor, and Chaplain, who went to Gulmarg. Dr. Elmslie remained at the post of duty and visited the sick in Serinaghur. He tried to organise the *Hakims*, but was left single-handed. A missionary of the Propagation Society alone assisted him.

The neglect and inefficiency of the local authorities have been very great and capable. The people everywhere and of every grade have thankfully received the visits, and readily taken the medicines of the missionaries. Most unaccountably, the British Resident did not remove the cordon before he and the English visitors left for Gulmarg, and in consequence the dispensary is still closed. It is very hard to think that the sick people are the only class excluded by the sepoys placed all round the European quarters. Merchants and all others except the sick come and go as if there were no cordon. The mortality up to the morning of the 19th is

officially returned by the Resident as 1580 out of 3907 reported seizures. And this is how one of the Queen's feudatories is allowed to slaughter Her Majesty's subjects.

Friend of India.

The Maharaja of Cashmere, a noble whom we created by the very blindest act of all our history in the East has not concealed his design of stopping all trade between India and the North, by a series of oppressive exactions which ought not to be tolerated for an hour. If the Duke of Northumberland were to establish a cordon from Alnwick to Carlisle, and permit no trader to pass north that he might monopolise the market of all Scotland he would do exactly that Her Majesty's Indian Government has so long tolerated at the hands of one of her nobles, whose father bought his estates of Cashmere and Ladakh not a generation ago. Nor is this all. This noble of yesterday, under our rule, who sends his annual tribute to Her Majesty, himself exacts homage and tribute from our native representative in the frontier province of Lahoul, and only on this condition will he permit a little trade to trickle through a corner of the territory we sold to him. Facts so scandalous would be incredible were they not vouched for by an official of so high a position and character as Mr. T.D. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Jullundur.

Never was there such an opportunity for meeting Russia in the spirit which all classes of thinkers admit to be desirable and advantageous to our own subjects.

And there is no obstacle but Cashmere; our only enemy is our own feudatory. We trust that the determined action of Sir John Lawrence will prevent for ever the loss which our prestige has long suffered, and the death which our trade has

long suffered, all at the hands of one of our own nobles.

Ibid.

Well, we see all this, and we see the neighbouring and intermediate states, Cashmere on the one hand fast sinking down to the lowest state of decay and degradation. Afghan on the other filled with anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. This picture is before us in India and before the world, and yet our highly civilised government looks on with cold indifference to the advance of Russia from the north; with cold and unimpassioned indifference to the destardly and demoralising government of the fairest valley in the east; and to confusion, and war, and repine among a nation second to none for bravey in our India possession. As a Christian and moral government we fail to land our improving influence to the one, and though belonging to the bravest and proudest of nations, we fail through our timid policy to acknowledge a ruling power in, and so secure the staunch alliance of the other. Our government is not, it is true, at this moment either rapacious or aggressive; it may be doing now wrong, but it does not follow, therefore, that it is doing right.

Letter in Delhi Gazette.

It is in perpetrating such atrocities, that we, a Christian Government, protect the Maharaja against the revolt which would otherwise justly hurl him from his seat. It is to this, and such oppression as that of Holkar and Joudhpore, and such a massacre as that of Lawa by the Nawab of Tonk, which we recorded only last week, that a policy of non-interference inevitably leads. The only check we have recently placed upon the Cashmere chief and his myrmidons is the appoint-

ment of a British Agent to watch over the interests of our traders in Ladakh. But the continuance of even that is still doubtful.

To Cashmere itself we depute a Resident for six months of the year, but he either, like Mr...., plays into the Maharaja's hand, or is compelled to wink at evils which it ought to be his duty to prevent. Will the Viceroy not deal with this question in a manner befitting its importance and his own antecedents? What is wanted is a permanent Resident at Cashmere, and the announcement that the appointment of an Agent to Leh is no more temporary concession to public opinion, but is required at all times in the interests of our oppressed subjects.

Friend of India.

The Deputy Commissioner of Kangra writes:-

"Next as regards the restrictions put on the free passage of merchants by the authorities in Ladakh. Throughout my journey I heard but one story of the oppressions of the Maharaja's Government in Ladakh, the avaricious and grasping character of the ruler himself, and the utter corruptness of all his people in authority.

Ibid.

The accounts of Cholera in Serinaghur seem to have been very exaggerated. We hear from a reliable source that the average of deaths during the worst time was 150 per diem, which by the way is a very great percentage on the population of Serinaghur. Most of the visitors appear to be at Gulmarg and its charming vicinity. Great complaints of

the Maharaja's Government continue to reach us. The dissatisfaction in that country seems daily on the increase and imperatively demands the interference of our Government.

Indian Public Opinion.

The key of India is an as much Kabul as Cashmere and whilst we should render the rulers of the former country subservient to our interests, we ought without any delay annex the latter. Expediency, the Maharaja's misgovernment and his flagrant breach of the treaty justify, and in the interests of humanity and statesmanship, demand such an annexation, -

Ibid.

I pity Cashmere, which has often been called "heaven upon earth," by the oriental poets, groaning under such a rule for ever and ever. Consider how scantily he pays his servants and troops, and even out of this scanty pay he will make certain fixed deductions, e.g., on his birth day. What have people to do with it? Instead of receiving gifts from the Maharaja on such an occasion, why should they be compelled to pay him what is unjust? Nor does he again pay them regularly. They groan and moan under his rule: Oh I see them, I hear them, I pity them.

Hark, there comes the sound, " Avenge us, Oh, Lord," I cannot but cry out with them, "Heaven seize thee, ruthless king." Not only would he press his subject people, whilst in his dominions, but he will not suffer them to change their country for a better one. He will frame no just laws for his people, nor will he adopt those framed by other intelligent

men. Justice is thus alien to him and injustice lies at the door. His example has been followed by his ministers, and there appears no end to fraud and treachery. I may go on writing pages if not volumes, describing the great injustice and mismanagement, but let the handful serve as the pattern of the heap. Should then, Mr. Editor, such a ruler be allowed to proceed in his course? A republican form of Government in Cashmere, would be much better, if the British do not want it. But why should they not want it? Oh, I long to see the day when Cashmere shall bloom like a rose under the British Government.

Indian Public Opinion.

It is now time for the Government of India calmly to assert their rights secured by the convention of Peking, and to acquaint the Maharaja of Cashmere with his proper position under the engagement made with his father. Gholab Singh began life as a petty farmer of the revenues under Runjeet Singh (Ranjit Singh), and the present Dewan Jowala Sahai was then his moonshee's brother. They rose together till, after the six year's anarchy which followed Runjeet Singh's death in 1839, the wily Gholab Singh so temporised, that Lord Hardings was, in a week moment, induced to honour him. Of the million and a half sterling due by the Lahore Durbar for the expenses of the first war, it could pay only half a million, because Gholab Singh owed no less than 680,000 to the Lahore Treasury before the war broke out; moreover as feudal governor of Jammoo he was bound to assist the Lahore, yet we overlooked that and sold him Cashmere for that account.

Next to the Cabul disasters, this is the greatest blot in our history. Our engagement, however, not only did not give

him sovereign rights, but it expressly declared that he was not to make war or annex territory without our consent, while we were bound to defend him against his enemies. This engagement has been consistently violated. Since it was made, Gilgit has been annexed, and Yassen conquered, by Cashmere troops, without the Chief even consulting us.

Friend of India.

30th, - On the afternoon of this day the Cashmere inquirer, Mohammad Hussan, was baptised. This is the first baptism that has taken place since the commencement of the Cashmere Mission. On that account it is most interesting, as being, we trust, the first fruits of the harvest that is to follow, Mohammad Hussan is a young man of respectable family, and a Syud. During his course as an inquirer, he has undergone many reproaches and persecutions. By his own family he has been cost off, as unfit to associate with them, and by the Cashmere government he has on two occasions been imprisoned. When he was last in charge, it was only through the interference of the British Agent that he could be released. The treatment which he under-went, when in prison, was of a most cruel kind. Indeed, he was placed in a dungeon, and fettered in the same manner as those who were guilty of murder and of the gravest offences. And when, by the influence of Mr. Cooper, C. B., the order was given for his release, he had been lying on the ground for three days and unable to rise. From this position he had been prevented from moving by reason by a ponderous log of wood that had been fastened, in a most painful manner, to one of his legs.

C.M.S. Reports.

No Englishman deserving of the name, and no Englishman whose advocacy has not been bought, can deny that for years and years the grossest oppression has been practised in that unhappy country, oppression to which nothing which we have witnessed elsewhere, can offer a parallel; that crime is to its government a principal source of revenue, and that it shrinks from no depth of degradation, the blackest mire of which may yield to high or low official a small golden proceed.

Indian Public Opinion.

CASHMERE

(To the Editor of the Indian Public Opinion)

Sir, "Dunsal Hall", of Shimla of the Delhi, should apply to me for information as to Russian progress in the Maharaja's country; I might also place in his possession a few facts regarding the mis-government of Jummoo and Cashmere which would lead him to advocate the immediate occupation of both by British Troops. Half measures are useless, and in this case dangerous.

There is only one week point, and that is Cashmere, from Cashmere to India the communications are many and facile. For one half the year the Indian Government submits to be told by a feudatory chieftains that the ordinary international communications observed between all civilised countries in the world, are not to be observed with her. From Cashmere to Central Asia the routes are numerous and open.

One would think the duty of our government was clear enough. We do not advocate annexation, but we do affirm that a military occupation of Cashmere has now become, in our own self-defence, an actual necessity.

Delhi Gazette.

Steadily the wave from the north advances, and when England awakes to the fact too late, it will resent the policy which is now so dear to men with whom statesmanship means a financial surplus, and England's honour is less valued than party jobbery. We have come to this, that we leave intervention in Central Asia to our own feudatory, Cashmere, and that intervention is against our interests and contrary to his engagement with us. The assertion of our Cashmere correspondent as to Pundit Munphool, and the despatch of an envoy by the Maharaja, to the Russian at Tashkend, demand inquiry from Government.

Friend of India,Sept.5

Thus, "on the 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rubbeeoolwul, 1261, Hijree, was done at Amritsar," the treaty, of ten articles by which Gholab Singh was raised to rank and dignity of an independent ruler.

For seventy - five lacs of rupees the unfortunate Cashmerees were handed over to the tender mercies of "The most thorough ruffian that ever was created - a villain from a kingdom down to a half-penny," and the "paradise of the Indies," after remaining rather less than a week a British possession, was relinquished by England for ever.

Knight's Travels in Cashmere.

The *Indian Public Opinion hopes*, and we join in the hope, that the day is coming near when our troops will be stationed at the sanatorium of Cashmere, when European colonists will, by their industry and bravery, make it a truly "happy valley" as well as the best frontier for India. Then should the Maharaja - to whom we might return seventy - five lacs for which we bargained away the welfare of hundreds of thousands of human beings, a sum too less than a year's income of that country - take up the position of an honoured and simple country gentleman and pensioner in the Punjab, with the hope of being eventually entrusted, should he show himself worthy of it, with an "honorary magistracy,"

Scinde News.

Another illustration of the weak policy forced on the government of India by the home authorities, is seen in the following letter to a feudatory who behaves so badly. Writing in reply to the Maharaja of Cashmere's excuse for not doing homage to his Excellency at Shimla, Sir John Lawrence says- "I assure your Highness that it was with much regret that I missed the opportunity of meeting you in April last; but there was no remedy. It would have been very unwise had I kept your Highness near Umbala, and exposed you and your people to the dangers of the cholera. I entertain sincere feelings of friendship for your Highness, and shall always be anxious for your welfare. I shall be very happy to see your minister, Dewan Joalla Sahai, who has been an old friend of mine for many years, and whom I took upon as a devoted supporter of your Highness's interests." There is the glove of silk; but Oh: for the hand of iron, in the interests of oppressed millions.

Indian Public Opinion.

That a Cashmere official should act after his kind is no matter astonishment, especially when he had the double advantage of recouping himself at the expense of rival in trade for losses caused by his agent's default. No exercise of power repetitions be sweeter than this, but no trade could survive many repetitions of it. A native minister's oppressions will always go to the very verge of becoming dangerous to himself. Formerly, it was possible to practise the usual barbarities of oriental rule. Therefore it was done. Now, such things might attract inconvenient notice; so an official of Cashmere must confine himself to bloodless tyranny. He can still, however, create a reasonable amount of misery. Last year, the happy valley resounded with wailings and lamentations. The Maharja's Government, which claims at least two thirds of the produce of each field, (practically far more) proclaimed that it would take its share of grain in distant Gilgit, where its troops were engaged in ever recurring wars with the border tribes. For months the lightly clad peasantry of the valley were employed in transporting the fruits of their own labours over deserts and snows, an unrequited toil. *Sic vos non vobis* would apply equally to all the works of this unfortunate people. The consequent dreadful loss of life, which spread desolation among the homes of the valley, afforded a fine specimen of Cashmere rule. Such is its mode of taxation, and such its commissariat in the field; And so with the commercial relations of the Cashmere Government. It can still smother the trade of a whole continent for the sake of enriching a few officials. Two figures are sufficient to show the effects of the system and to prove that all the barbariam and anarchy of Afghanistan and its tribes are not such a deadly obstacle to commerce as the tender mercies of the Cashmere Raj. The trade of India with Central Asia, takes two routes, that of the Afghan passes, and that of Ladakh. The former amounts to

621,918 per annum, the latter to 623,604, according to the official statement in Mr. Davies' Trade Report. Thus can the natural advantage of a shorter rout from mart to mart be neutralised and reversed by the noiseless malpractices of feudatory government. even though it enter the lists of misrule against so formidable a rival as the wild and bloody disorder of the Afghan States.

Friend of India.

CASHMERE AMRITSAR TREATY

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaj Golab Singh of Jummo on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardings, G.C.B. one of Her Britannic Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, Governor General, appointed by the Honourable company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indiaes, and the Maharaja Golab singh in person.

Article 1 : The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, its independent possession, to Maharaja Golab Singh, and the heir male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated on the eastward of the River Indus, and westward of the River Ravi, including Chumba and *excluding Lahoul*, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2: The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Golab Singh, shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Golab

Singh respectively, for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article. 3: In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Golab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy five lacs of rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lacs on or before the Ist October, of the current year A.D. 1846.

Article 4: The limits of the territories of Maharaja Golab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5 : Maharaja Golab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6: Maharaja Golab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7: Maharaja Golab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subjects nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8: Maharaja Golab Singh engages to regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of

articles 5,6, and 7 of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.

Article 9: The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Golab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10: Maharaja Golab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montogomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B, Governor - General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Golab Singh in person, and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B, Governor General.

Since the Pamphlet was printed, a gentleman has written to me from the Punjab, where he has resided sixteen years. He knows Cashmere and its people well, and says:-

> "Affairs in Cashmere are only growing worse and worse. That Government is a disgrace to ours. Year by year is English honour trailed in the dust through its means. Were but an hundredth part known at home, the country would be moved from one end to the other."

Cashmere Misgovernment

Robert Thorp

The man who dies for the sake of the Kashmiries

CHAPTER I

Introductory Remarks

Owing to that peculiar arrangement between the Government of India and the Jamoo Government, by which the Englishmen are excluded from the dominions of the latter during the winter months, and also to the weil-grounded fear of the Maharaja's subjects to speak of the oppressive system under which they live, I feel confident that most of the following information, which I have, not without difficulty collected, will be new, alike to those who have travelled in Cashmere, and to those whose knowledge is only derived from newspapers and the talk of society.

I am therefore inclined to believe that the communication I have to make regarding a country for whose welfare, as I shall endeavour to show, we are responsible, will be of interest, first to those who wish that the Government they serve or live under, should act with less regard to the expediency of the moment than in such a manner as shall procure for it the character of a highminded, an unselfish, and a just power.

Second, to those who can feel pity for the undeserved sufferings of men, and disgust and indignation at the spectacle of a people whose characteristics (both intellectual and moral) give eivdence of former greatness, trampled upon by a race in every way inferior to themselves, and steadily deteriorating under the influence of an oppressive

despotism which bars the way to all improvement, whether social, intellectual, or religious.

Third, to those who, from their position, share in the responsibility, which in my opinion, attaches to the Government of India regarding the people whom it sold into the slavery of Gulab Singh.

Without further premise or apology, I shall therefore begin by laying before the reader a detailed account of the oppression of the people by the Government of Maharaja.

Land Produce Taxation System in Cashmere

Of almost everything produced by the soil, Government takes a large proportion and the numerous officials who are employed in collection are paid by an award of so much grain from the share of the *zamindars*.

The following is a list of the different officials who are concerned in the collection and division of the land produce, and in the general government of the country outside the city of Srinagar, which is under the Governor of Casmere and the Chief Magistrate.

The Principal of these is:

The Tehsildar:- He has under him from two to five *purgunnahs* and he exercises a supervision over the accounts of the *kardars* within his district; he has powers of punishment up to a fortnight's imprisenment and ten rupees fine; all complaints, in disputes, and offences occuring within his tehsil are referred to him; he has from 200 to 400 sepoys under him, and is responsible only to the Diwan or Governor of Cashmere, who resides in the city.

The Thanadar:- Is the chief officer over each *purgunnah;* he has slighter powers of punishment, and from 40 to 50 sepoy under him. His chief duties are to make inspections through out his *purgunnah,* and to make reports concerning the crops and general matters to his tehsildar.

The Kardar:- Is the chief of the officials who are personally concerned in the collection of the land produce. He has

under him a certain number of villages, of whose crops he has to keep a strict account, and to each of which he goes in person at the time when the different crops ripen in order to superintendent the different distribution of each. He reports to his *thanedar*, and causes the Government shares of the crops to be despatched to the city, or elsewhere, according to the orders he may receive. In lieu of some of the inferior kinds of grain the Governnent will occassionally take an equivalent in money from the *kardar*. The *zamindars* do not however, benefit by this arrangement, since in these cases the *kardar* takes from them, the full amount of produce, and sells the amount, for which the Government have taken money, to his own advantage; and since this arrangement is greatly preferred by the *kardars*, there must be a large demand for these grains among the people: since, and in order to make their own profits they are, of course obliged to sell them at a higher rate than the very high prices demanded by Government, a scale of which I shall give in the sequal.

Over each village there is a

Mokuddum:- Whose duty is to report any irregularities or thefts, to collect coolies and carriage for Government or others, and to keep an account of the crops of his village, in conjunction with another official called the (Patwaree)

Patwaree:- Whose special duty is to keep a separate account with each house of the *zamindars* of his village of the different crops belonging to it. To each village there is a *patwaree*; he is paid by the *zamindars*, and is a necessary expense entailed on the *zamindars* by the mode of collecting their tax. He is usually a Pundit[1].

The Shugdur:- There are from one to four *shugdurs* in each village, according to its size. Their duties are to watch the crops while in the ground, and the Government's share of the same, after they have been set aside and are waiting their removal to the Government store-houses. It is said to be a common instance of oppression for the *shugdur* to extort money from the *zamindars* by threatening to accuse him of stealing the Government grain; in which case, rather than court an investigation whose justice he has every reason to doubt, the *zamindar* is fain to purchase the silence of his oppressor according to ability. The *shugdur* is also paid by the *zamindars*, and is supplied by them with *russud*[2] gratis.

The Sargowl:- Is the official who is over the *shugdurs*. There is one *sargowl* to about every ten villages; his duties are to inspect the *shugdurs* and report to his *kardar*. It is said that he commonly extorts money from the *shugdur*, in the same way as we have seen that the *shugdurs* retaliate on the *zamindar*; none of those who are thus oppressed ever seem to contemplate such a step as that of complaining to the *thanedar* of their *purgunnah*, or the tehsildar of the district as a curious proof of the estimation in which the justice of these officials, one of whose nominal duties is to receive complaints, is held. They are of course, Hindoos (Hindus).

The *sargoul* is frequently a Pundit, and is paid by the *zamindars*, as is also the (Taroughdar).

Taroughdar:- Whose duty is to weigh the grain when the government portion is taken from the *zamindars*. He is always in attendance upon the *kardar*.

The Hurkara:- Is a police constable. There is one *hurkara's* house to about every twenty villages, all the male members of his family being also *hurkaras*. He receives report from, and give direction to the (Dooms).

Doom or policeman, of which there is one to every village, the inhabitants of which are obliged to supply him with *russed*.

Such is the small official family which the Cashmere *zamindar*, has to support, the greater part of whom are rendered necessary by the complicated system which a collection of land produce entails. According to the custom of the country, the land owned by any one house is common[3]; the *patwaree* of the village has therefore to keep an account of the amount of grain produced by each different kind of crop belonging to each separate house and to calculate the amount due to Government according to the scale which I shall now proceed to give.

There are two kinds of crops in Cashmere as in Hindostan (Pre 1947 India), called the rubbia (rabi) and the karreefa (kharif). The first of these consists of those which ripen in about July, and the second of these whose harvest time is about 2 months later. Of the kareefa, all the crops except the rice are second crops, i.e are produced from land which has already yielded a crop. The rice ground alone produces nothing but rice; it is sown in May and reaped in September. The Government scale of weights used in collecting their proportions of grain is as follows:-

6 seers = 1 trak
16 traks = 1 kharwah

but in scaling the grain afterwards to the people the scale is

6 seers = 1 trak
15 traks = 1 kharwah

The extra trak thus gained by the Government in each

kharwah is in order to liquidate the expense of carrying the grain from the village to the city, which, considering the easy rate at which carriage is paid for by the Government, it must amply do.

The amount taken by the Government and the Government officials upon the rubbia and khareef crops is as follows:

Out of every 32 traks of each grain of the rubbia crop, the following amounts are taken from the *zamindars*:-

	Traks	Seers
Government share	20	0
The Surgowl	0	1½
The Shugdur	0	1
The Taroughdar	0	¾
The Hurkara	0	1½
The Patwaree	0	1½
Servants of the Kardar	0	½
Total taken in kind out of every 32 traks of each grain of the rubbia crop.	20	6 ¾.

The rubbia crop consists of the under mentioned grains, and the sums annexed to each are a money tax levied on every 32 traks of each grain of the rubbia crop, in addition to the tax in kind which I have just detailed:

A Chilkee anna = about ½ Company's anna.

	Chilkee anna
Kunuck (a kind of wheat)	3
Uiska (barely)	1
Kurre (peas)	1
Tilogogole (a grain from which oil is made)	3
Kuttan -do-	3
Marhar (from which dal is made)	3
Mong -do-	3
Mosour -do-	1
Krotur -do- (a grain used for cattle, & also by the poorer classes of the people for food)	1
Total taken in money upon every 192 traks of the rubbia crop	22 Chilkee anna

Out of every 32 traks of each grain of the khareefa crops, the following amounts are taken from the *zamindars*:-

	Traks	**Seers**
Government share	21	2
Mundeer (or temple) tax	0	2
Jullos-us-gowl (said to be for the use of the Maharaja's guests)	0	2
The Patwaree	0	1½
The Hurkar	0	1½
The Shugdar	0	1
The Surgowl	0	1½
Servants of the Kardar	0	¾
The Taroughdar	0	1½
Total taken in kind out of every 32 traks of each grain of the khareefa crop.	21	11¾

The khareefa crop consists of the following grains, and

the sums annexed to each of a money tax levied on every 32 traks of each grain of the khareefa crop, in addition to the tax in kind which I have just detailed:-

A chilkee anna	=	about ½ company's anna
		Chilkee anna
Shalee (rice in husk)	=	2 ¾
Mukki (Indian corn)	=	2 ¾
Trombu (a grain used extensively for food by *zamindars*)	=	2¾
Shawul (graings used for food by the people)	=	2¾
Kapas (flax)[4]	=	4
Total taken in money out of every 142 traks of the Khareefa crop	=	17 ¾ chilkee annas

Russudart:- In addition to these money taxes upon the different grain of the rubbia and khareefa crops, there is also a tax called Russudart, which is levied annually upon each house throughout the villages, from 4 annas to 20 annas, according to the number of inmates.

Fruit tax: Of the more valuable kinds of fruits such as walnuts, apples, pears, apricots, almonds and quinces, three-fourths of the annual produce are taken by the Government. The duty of preserving them for this purpose falls upon the *surgowl* and his *shugdurs*; the above proportion is collected by the *kardar* and his assitants, and transmitted according to the orders of Government.

Animal Tax:- Sheep and Goats .... From every village or villages whose land produces 500 kharwahs of grain, two or three of these animals are taken annually, and half their value returned in coin to the *zamindars*.

Ponies:- One pony is taken every year under the same conditions, half of his value being returned to the *zamindars*.

Puttoo:- One *loie* or woven (woollen) blanket, is taken annually under similar conditions, half of its value is returned.

Ghee:- For each milk cow half a seer of ghee annually is taken.

Fowls:- From one to ten fowls yearly from each house, according to the number of inmates.

Honey:- In the honey districts, as the Lidar and Wurdwan valleys, two-third of the produce are taken yearly by the *kardar* and others; but I am uncertain whether this is an authorised Government tax.

The accounts of all these taxes[5] are kept by the *patwaree* and *mokuddum* and the distribution of returned money is made by them.

The above are the taxes lavied upon the *zamindars* of Cashmere i.e upon the population of the country, exclusive of those who live in the large towns, such as Srinagar, Islamabad, Soper and Pampur; and it should be borne in mind that all those taxes, including the amounts both in money and in kind, taken upon the rubbia and khareefa crops, are the regularly authorised Government taxes, and not exactions made by officials[6]. It is highly probable that exactions are made in excess of the legal amounts herein laid down, but of this it is not possible to speak with perfect certainty[7]. Of the evils of the above system, (independently of the enormous percentage of produce taken by the Government), it is not necessary to say much, since they are tolerably apparent.

For instance, if a *zamindar* wishes to complain that he

has been mulcted of a larger proportion of grain or money than he ought to have paid in accordance with the above complicated scale, he goes to the *thanedar* of his *purgunnah*, who makes enquiries, and sends for the *kardar* and *patwaree*. If the man's complaint is just, and if the *thanedar* has not been bribed by the *kardar*, he gets redress on payment of a rupee or two, besides the loss of his time. If the *thanedar* has been bribed, the *zamindar* can appeal to the higher tribunal of the *tehsildar*, but here again there is the risk of his being forestalled by the united bribes of the *kardar* and *thanedar*, so that usually the *zamindar* finds it a wiser course to pocket his money in silence.

The chief way, however, in which the evils of the system are felt throughout the country, is in the prevention of all trade and barter between the people of the towns and the people of the villages. The latter, (except a few *shawl-bafs* who may be located in some of the villages), are all *zamindars*, the former are chiefly shopkeepers, shawl merchants, *karkandar*[8], *shawl bafs, sada bafs*, boatmen, and artisans of all description.

Thus, the people of the towns and the people of the country constitute two large classes, with different wants; the former require the things that the *zamindar* posses - rice, corn, fowls, sheep, milk, etc. and the later requires money which the city people would willingly give him for his produce, to buy these comforts and luxuries which the city can supply, chiefly imported articles as spices, cotton, cloth. But this natural system of exchange is entirely prohibited by the above arrangement; so that, as I have been informed by the best English authority, there were people in Srinagar, some two or three years ago, with money in their pockets, in a state of semi-starvation. The *zamindars* had, of course no surplus supplies to sell them, and the Government *kotas*[9]

were shut for the time.

In fact, it is only very recently that regulations have been made whereby the people are permitted to buy as much grain as they require from the Government and for this poor boon they are exceedingly thankful.

At some of their spring *melas* this year, I was struck with the increased number of people as compared with the year before, and, on enquiry, was told that this year they have been allowed to buy food enough to eat and are consequently able to come out and enjoy themselves a little. Such is the boon which a paternal Government has recently accorded to the Cashmeries - permission to buy their own rice at a very exhorbitant rate; and (poor wretches!) so accustomed are they to oppression and misuage of all kinds, that they look upon this as a concession deserving of the utmost gratitude.

It has been truly said that the present system of land produce taxation is no new one introduced by the present dynasty, but had its origion at some remote period. There is, however, an important point of difference, which to the people makes all the difference between mild system and an oppressive one, and this is in the prices of the grain sold by the Government.

Now, when Gulab Singh began his iniquitous reign, he found the system pretty much the same as I have described, with certain important exceptions, and the prices of the grain thus collected in the Government *kotas* were as follows:-

A. Huree Singh-rupee = 8 annas.

Shallee (unground rice)	1 H. S. rupee per Kharwah	
Uiska (barley)	1	-do-
Mukki (Indian corn)	1	-do-
Oil	1	-do-

and the remainder in proportion.

When the change in the coinage was made by Gulab Singh of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter he also raised the prices of everything sold by the Government to a rate higher than the present one to which they were lowered on the occasion of the present Maharaja. The prices at the present time are as under:-

A Chilkee rupee = 10 annas.

Shalee	2 Ch. Rs. per Kharwah	
Uiska	2	-do-
Kunuck	5	-do-
Mukki	2	-do-
Muttur (peas)	4	-do-
Mong (from which dal is made)	7	-do-
Mohar	7	-do-
Mosor	4	-do-
Krotur	2	-do-
Kuttum (from which oil is made)	6	-do-
Mout (a grain used chiefly for cattle)	2	-do-
Tilogogolo (from which oil is made)	8	-do-
Tromba (for food)	2	-do-
Pingi (Grains used for food by the Showul people)	2	-do-
Kupas (flax)	16	-do-

These prices, it will be seen are more than double from those, for which the same things were sold, when Gulab Singh got the country. And, moreover, it can scarcely be pleaded on behalf of a bad system, that it has been a long time in operation.

The Government *kotas* are both store-houses for the grain and also the places where it is sold to the people in small quantities.

Anyone in want of a large amount must go to the officer-in-charge of the *kotas* who give them an order upon some one of the *kardars*, for which the officer takes the payment and places it to the credit of the *kardar* in his accounts. There is a considerable loss in buying from the Government *kotas*, from the amount of dirt accumulated by transit from the villages etc., so that the purchaser does not, in point of fact, obtain a kharwah of shalee for his two chilkee rupees, but about a trak less. It will be remembered that the Government kharwah when they sell to the people, is only 15 traks (instead of 16 traks)

The Chief points, then, with regards to this system of taxation are,

(a) The prevention of that traffic, and consequent intercourse and union between the city and the country people which are manifestly essential to their comfort and well-being.

(b) The comparative poverty which it produces among the *zamindars*, and the actual want and misery which it helps to produce among the *shawl* and *sada-bafs*, of whom I shall speak hereafter.

(c) The opportunities afforded to Government and Government officials, of creating temporary famines by closing the Government *kotas*[10] and thus raising the prices of grains.

(d) The countless opportunities for chicanery and oppression which it affords to the numerious local officers employed in carrying out its most complicated arrangements.

In consequence of the want of intercouse and traffic between the city and country people which this system produces, there has grown up a feeling of distrust and jealously between them, most detrimental, of course to the happiness and well-being of the community, but which it is probable that a mean and selfish government like that of Jamoo would rather foster than diminish.

By way of final comment upon this extraordinary system, I shall translate a sort of fable commonly known throughout Cashmere which they have either invented, or perhaps adopted from the Persian, as emblematical of the condition of their country, and the peculiar system of its government:-

The Story of Mos Deen Khan

'Once upon a time there was a very great nobleman, who was a Pathan, and who lived in the mountains to the north west of Cashmere; his name was Mos Deen Khan. One day he went upon a journey to Srinagar, in Cashmere, in order to pay his respect to the king of that country, and it happened that on that occasion he rode a horse for which he had a very great regard. He was indeed so fond of his

horse, that he used to call himself "the father of the animal[11]".

'When Mos Deen Khan reached Safa Kadal, which is the seventh bridge over the Jehlum at Srinagar, he alighted from his steed that he might proceed to the royal palace on foot, having given many instructions to the groom with regard to the well-treatment of the horse, as well as special orders on no account to ride him, he sent him back to his abode in the mountains.

'But when Mos Deen Khan got half-way to the palace of the king, he bethought himself that perhaps his servant might ill-treat his horse, he therefore sent another of his attendants with orders to overtake them, and ascertain whether the beloved animal was well cared for. The menial departed, and found the first servant riding the horse; he thought, "it is better for me to ride at my ease than to quarrel with this servant, who may perhaps afterwards falsely accuse me to my master" so he too mounted.

'Now when Mos Deen Khan got very near the palace of the king, he again bethought himself that perhaps it would be better to send a still more trustworthy servant to be a check upon the conduct of the others with regard to his horse. But when the third servant overtook the party, and found his two predecessors riding, he also mounted, and the horse, which could have carried one, became so exhausted under the weight of three, that, on reaching his stable, he died'.

The application of the story is obvious enough, and is a good illustration of the natural wit of the Cashmeeries. It is particularly applicable at the present time, since the Maharaja himself is said to be in ignorance of large part of the

oppression of his Government and of the injustice of his irresponsible officials.

Nevertheless, such ignorance is equivalent to guilt; and the desire for the happiness of his subjects, if such a feeling be known to the Maharajah, must be feeble and worthless indeed, since it cannot even rouse him to ascertain for himself the condition of the people from whom he derives his wealth, and for whose well or ill-being he is responsible.

It is rarely, even, that he takes the trouble to visit the Cashmere valley. He sits apart in his luxurious palaces at Jamoo contented to receive such reports of the state of his country as his officials may choose to furnish him with.

From time to time some of the numerous complaints of his baneful administration, which circulate in newspapers and in the talk of society, must penetrate the seclusion of the royal chambers. He hears them apparently unmoved! with indifference or contempt?and never seems to have conceived the idea of investigating their truth or falsehood for himself; or of seeing with his own eyes, and hearing with his own ears the actual condition of his people. He trusts everything to his dihwans and wuzeers, who are Hindoos of a different caste from his own, are ill educated, totally ignorant of English forms of Government and of English ideas of justice.

There is not only no link between the governing class in Cashmere and the native inhabitants of the country, but there are all those deep roted antipathies which must exist between Mussulmen and Hindoos. Those who know the feelings that exist between the two races, do not require to be told that a country whose population is entirely com-

posed of followers of one creed[12], and whose governing power is entirely composed of adherents of the other, must be oppressively and unjustly ruled.

That Mussulman and Hindoo to a certain extent amalgamate in Hindostan is no evidence to the contrary. They have the common feelings of dislike to the English; and moreover, the Musulmans of Hindostan have lost almost all the distinguishing characteristics of their race and religion. None of the noble qualities which once animated the followers of that creed in so many quarters of the globe are to be found, in the semi-Hindooized, and consequently debased, Mussulman of Hindostan.

The people of Cashmere, however, (as I hope to show in a future work), are possessed of many characteristics, both intellectual and moral which command our respect and admirations. Amongst them the religion of Mohamet (Mohammad, -- the Islam) although sullied by long contact with idolaters, is still kept up with much of its ancient purity, and with a devotion and enthusiasm that would not have disgraced the best days of Islamism.

REFERENCES

1. It is, I suppose known that the *zaminadars* of Cashmere areMussulman (Muslims), as also the inhabitants of the cities, with the exception of a few Pundits and other officials of Government.

2. Russud means daily subsistance, including fuel. In the larrger villages the *shugdur* is usually a Pundit.

3. There are usually from two to five families in a house connected by marriage.

4. The proportion taken in kind upon kupas are flax is in accorrdance with the scale laid down for the rubbia crop.

5. Except the honey, regarding which I have no certain knowledge.

6. I mean that, supposing no bribes are taken, no oppression practised by any of the numerous officials whom I have named as connected with the collections and division of the land produce, the zamindar will pay what is here laid down and, on the hypothesis that all these officials are perfectly honest, he will pay no more, of the value of this hypothesis.

7. My readers may form their own opinions.

8. Workers in leather, papier-machie, wood, metal, etc.

9. The *kota* is Government store-house, from whence grain is sold to the people at prices which I shall give a list of in the sequel. Untill very recently it was the custom to close these *kotas* from time to time, and never to sell rice but in very small quantities.

10. I do not know that prices have been actually raised by the closing of the *kotas*, but it is certain that the people have often suffered great misery on account of it.

11. The meaning of this expression will appear in the sequel of the story.

12. The proportion of pundits is too small to be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER II

The Shawl System

The 'Poshm', which reaches Cashmere by the ordinary traders is bought up in its raw state and spun into thread of different degrees of fineness by women, the wives of *shawl* and *sada bafs*, merchants, and even of shopkeepers and others, who are unconnected with the shawl trade[1]. They sell it in small quantities to shopkeepers[2] in the bazaar, from whom it is bought by the *karkandars* and others.

In order to understand the shawl system in Cashmere it will be necessary to consider separately that of those which are worked by the loom, and those which are worked by the hand, since the classes of people employed in each, and the Government regulations affecting them are essentially different. We will first examine,

The Loom System

A *karkandar* is a shawl manufacturer who employes under him a number of *shawl-bafs*, from 20 or 30 to 300. He buys the spun thread from the *pooiwunee* and gets it dyed of different colours before it is distributed among his workmen. There are about 100 *karkandars* in Cashmere, small and great all of whom live either in Srinagar or Islamabad; but the houses in which their *shawl-bafs* work are in different parts of the valley, the largest number being

in the towns of Pampur and Sopor. A number of overseers are, therefore, necessary to superintend the work, to be responsible for the pushrnina, and to draw the pay of the workmen, etc. These people are called *ustad*, (a word which signifies master or, sometimes teacher); there is usually one over every 25 or 30 *shawl-bafs*. At the end of the each month, the *ustad* takes to the *karkandar* : an account of the work performed in that time by each of the men under him, and draw so much pay for each, which is regulated by the amount of work done. The sum thus realised by *shawl-bafs* usually amount, to from three to five chilkee rupees a month, inclusive of the amount deducted by the Government for rice, which is sold to the *shawl-bafs* under conditions which I shall explain presently. Such a sum is not sufficient to support a family with any approach to comfort, even in so fertile a country as Cashmere[3].

The inability of the *karkandar* to pay his workers a higher rate of wages, I shall now proceed to demonstrate.

The annual tax levied on each *karkandar* up to the Ist December 1867, was Rs. 47-8 (chilkees rupees) for each *shawl-bafs* in his employ: from that date a reduction was made of 11 chilkee rupees. The method of raising this tax is somewhat complicated, and most liable to abuse.

There is in Srinagar a large Government office, called the *Dagh-shali*, in which are employed about 200 pundits for purposes which I shall explain. At their head is an official, commonly called the Darogha of the *Dagh-shali*. Before a loom shwal can be legally made, a small peice of the intended degree of fineness must be brought to *Dagh-shali*. The proposed size is named and the price is thus calculated, piece then receives the Government stamp, and is laid up

in the *Dagh-shali*. The *karknandar* receives a paper descibing the shawl and giving the date of stamp, for which he pays at the time Rs. 18.12 per cent on the price of the shawl. When the shawl is nearly completed, it is taken to the *Dagh-shali* and the stamped peice is worked into it. No loom shwal can, of course, be sold without this stamp; and in order to ascertain that no *karkandar* puts in hand a shawl without first obtaining it, some of the *Dagh-shali* pundits are continually employed in inspecting the different *karkhans*[4] throughout the towns, and the few villages in which there may happen to be any.

It appears that they are in the habit of demanding and receiving from the *karkandars* illegal remuneration for their boat-hire, road expenses, which, as their visits are necessarily very frequent, must amount to a considerable sum.

At the end of each year the amount paid into the *Dagh-shali* by each *karkandar* is calculated by the officials of that office, and compared with the amount he would have paid, had the tax of Rs. 47-8 per *shwal-baf* being taken from him instead.

The deficiency is then paid by the *karkandar*; it rarely or never happens that he has paid percentage in excess because he entertains a doubt (not, I suppose unfounded) that in the event of his having done so, the difference would not be refunded to him by the *darogha*. He restricts himself therefore to the making of such number of shawls, the tax upon which will not exceed the amount of the original impost of Rs. 47-8 per *shawl-baf* annually.

That such an arrangement is detrimental to the interests of alike of Maharaja, *karkhandar* and *shawl-baf*, and

beneficial only to the officials of the *Dagh-shali* is evident enough. It is not, however, the interest of Maharaja and the *karkandar* which call for any special consideration, but those of the unfortunate *shawl-baf*. In order to understand more fully the situation of that individual, and the principal causes of the wholesale emigrations of *shawl* and *sada-bafs* to the Punjab, it will be necessary to advert to an occurence, which happened at Srinagar in the year 1865. In the spring of that year, Kirpa Ram was appointed to succeed Wazeer Punnoo in the post of Governor in Cashmere.

On his way to take up his appointment, he was met at Banihal by from 1,200 to 1,500 *shawl-bafs*, who came to complain to him concerning two matters. First, that in consequences of the Government order, no *shawl-baf* was allowed to purchase more than eight kharwahs of *shallee* yearly, and that such an amount was insufficient for their support.

Second, that the deduction in the price of *shallee* sold to them by Government, which had been ordered by the Maharaja about three years before should be allowed to them in full.

This requires some explanation, which will further illustrate the system of Cashmere Government. Soon after the accession of Gulab Singh , the rupee of the country, called as Hurree Singhi - value 8 annas- was changed by him for the present chilkee coin, value 10 annas.

All taxes, however, remained at the same amount of rupees! Thus the *karkandar's* tax of Rs. 47-8 Hurree Singhi was changed to 47-8 chilkee rupees: necessarily the prices of everything rose in proportion, and the *shawl-bafs*, about six years ago[5], most reasonably requested that for such

amount of work as formerely entitled them to a Hurree Singhi rupee, they should now receive a chilkee rupee. They preferred their request to the Maharaja, who decided that half of the difference between the old and the new coin should be paid by the *karkandar*, and half by the Government to the *shawl-bafs*.

It was further decided that the manner in which this last portion should be liquidated, was to be by a remission of two and a half company's annas in the price of each kharwah of shallee sold by the Government to the *shawl baf*. *Shallee* should therefore have been sold to the *shawl-baf* at the rate of 17 annas per kharwah, but the *darogha* of the *Dagh-shali*, named Raj Kark through whom the Government shallee was sold to the *shawl-bafs*, ordered that they should pay 18 annas per kharwah, intending to make half an anna on each kharwah for himself[7].

This, therefore, was the second cause of complaint for which after awaiting some three years, the *shawl-bafs* assembled to petition their new Governor, Kirpa Ram, on his arrival in Cashmere. The answer they received from him was, that he would listen to their complaints when he reached Srinagar. When that event took place, he was again awaited upon by the *shawl-bafs*, but they only obtained an answer that he would attend to them in a few days. This process having been repeated two or three times, the *shawl-bafs* assembled themselves together, in a somewhat riotous manner, on the maidan beyond the canal at the back of the city, to consult over their wrongs and grievances.In bitter and despairing mood, they made wooden bier, such as the Mussalman use to carry their dead to the place of internment, and placing a cloth over it, carried it to and fro in procession, exclaiming: ' Raj Kark is dead, who will give him

a grave?' The house of the individual thus honoured overlooked the maidan, and the whole proceeding was apparent enough to him. He went to the Governor Kirpa Ram, who gave him some 300 to 500 sepoys with whom he proceeded to the maidan. The *shawl-bafs* fled at the approach of an armed force, and in the crowding and hurry of their flight some five or six were drowned in the waters of the canal. The affair was reported to Jamoo but no enquiries appear to have been made at the time. About a month and half afterwards, Raj Kark did really die with unenviable feelings, one can fancy and the *shawl-bafs* were left to purchase their rice at the reduced rates in peace. The restriction as to quantity, however, remained unchanged, until by the decree of the Ist December 1867, the boon of permission to purchase eleven kharwahs of *shallee* yearly was granted to the family of each *shawl-baf*.

The manner of selling the *shallee* to the *shawl-bafs* is as follows:-

On the arrival of the grain in Srinagar, a large amount is set aside for the *shawl-bafs*, and portions of it are, from time to time, made over to the *darogha* for them. When that official receives an order for so much *shallee* from the Governor, he takes his accounts, and writes orders for each of the *karkandars*, entitling them to receive so much rice, according to the number of men in their employ, from certain specified boats. The *karkandar*, on receipt of the order, sends for the boat or boats named, and distributes the rice to his *shawl-bafs*, keeping an account of the amount delivered to each to be deducted from his monthly wages, the *karkandar* being himself charged with the total cost of the rice in his account with the *darogha*.

Such was the way in which the *shawl-bafs* were allowed

to purchase their eight kharwahs, and are now allowed to purchase their eleven kharwahs[8] yearly. It is necessary to point out the endless confusion, mistakes, and corruption which must enter into such an arrangement. This is to be noted regarding it, that even now although a sufficient amount of rice is provided for the use of the *shawl-baf* in the year yet, since it is not given in the lump, but in portions from time to time, he may at certain seasons find himself short.

Such was, of course, frequently the case under the eight kharwah system, when the *shawl-baf* and his family were often reduced to a state of semi-starvation.

Unable to obtain rice from his master, the *karkandar*, who had issued all that he had received from the *darogha*, the *shawl-baf* went to that official to complain that his rice was temporarily withheld.

The *darogha* sent for the *karkandar*, who produced his accounts showing that he had distributed all the rice he had received, and the *darogha* having also expended all that he had received from the Governor upto that date, the unfortunate *shawl-baf* was, of course, told to go about his business[9].

By the Maharaja's proclamation of the Ist. December 1867, ' that court for the *shawl-bafs* has been appointed, under the tile of the *Darogha-i-Shal-Darg*", the *darogha* always had power to punish *shawl-bafs* and *sada-bafs*, and to adjust their complaints, so for as the Government system permitted him. Some 50 sepoys are always present during the day at the *Dagh-shali* for the execution of his orders. The only difference now is, that another official is to hold court in the *Dagh-shali*, and attend to complaints. He is,

however, in a position inferior to that of the *darogha*, and therefore (in an Eastern Government) subservent to him, and moreover, since the complaints of the *shawl-bafs* are always either of scant supply of rice, or small payment of wages, the impossibility of any adjustment is evident enough.

The most detestable piece of oppression committed against the *shawl-bafs* is, however, this- that none of them are permitted to relinquish their employment without finding of substitute; which, of course, it is almost always impossible to do.

The *shawl-baf* may become half blind as many of them do from the nature of the work; he may contract other dieases, which the sedentary life and the foetid atmosphere of the low rooms engender and ripen; he may long to take up some other employement, which will permit him to breath the fresh air, to recruit the unstrung nerves, the cramped sinews, and the weakened frame; and to prolong the poor boon of existence, which the fearful toil of the loom is hurrying to its close- no! nothing but death can release him from his bondage, since the discharge of a *shawl-baf* would reduce the Maharaja's revenue by 36 chilkees a year.

It is not strange, that the Government of India should have the power to remove by a word these miseries and sufferings, and will not say it?

Do those who are in power ever spend a thought upon the people whom their predecessors sold into slavery?

Do they ever see for themselves those low-roomed, ill-ventilated abodes, where the loom-workers sit at their forced labour day after day toiling for their miserable pittance?

Those fairly-coloured threads of wool are not the only ones which these looms weave to their completion! Threads of life, more costly than those of the softest poshm whose price will be demanded by Heaven yet, are spun out there on the loom of sickness and suffering.

Death, suicide or flight are the only doors of release open to heavy-laden *shawl-bafs*; and thus we have arrived at an understanding of the causes which have produced those extensive emigrations of the Cashmere *shawl-bafs* to the Punjab. But the latter alternative is only possible to a man in tolerable health and strength, since the difficulties to be encountered, including the guarded outlets of the valleys are many and great. Many of the fugitives make their way over remote and difficult mountain passes, others by temporarily attaching themselves to an Englishman's camp- one way or another, they contrive to reach the Punjab in considerable numbers and find, in exile, a refuge from the Maharajah's officials of the *Dagh-shali*. Is it not almost incredible, that the Government of India has only to say a word to restore these unhappy beings to their homes and happiness and comfort to hundreds and thousands of suffering families throughout Cashmere, and will not say it?

Consider the half-despairing feeling of one of those refugee *shawl-bafs*, as he prepare to fly like a hunted felon from his wife, and children, for to take them with him is, of course, an impossibility! How many a miserable hour must he have known, debating with himself whether or not to take the final step! Consider what must have been undergone, in most cases, before he can bring himself to leave the dear ones of his home with the uncertainty of ever again beholding them!

A difficult and dangerous path before him, the possibility of capture and imprisonment, the uncertainty of what he shall meet with in that unknown land which he has heard of by the name of the Punjab, which they tell him the '*sahibs*' rule over, and do not suffer the poor to be oppressed! The journey across the mountains is, indeed, easy enough for an Englishman , with his camp and all its comforts and appliances, but what is it for one of these unfriended outcasts with scant supply of clothing, food, shelter and the dread of capture and punishment continually before his eyes.

The English traveller, as he pauses on his pleasant journey towards Cashmere, and looks up at the bright snowclad summits towering above him, and perhaps thanks God- if he have any gift that way- for making this earth so beautiful needs not that other aspect of the world, which the pale, worn figure hastening past him might reveal. He flies like a hunted felon, as I said, and his crime is poverty!

Of these fugitives I have learnt that they are in the habit of sending suplies of money to their families, as occasion offers, by some trader or other returning to the valley; and I am told that confidence thus placed is never abused. Surely this one fact speaks volumes in favour of the Cashmeere character [10] in regard to those two qualities, which they certainly exhibit in a marked degree (considering that they are an Asiatic race) - namely, honesty and loving kindness.

I never yet heard of a foreigner having anything stolen by a Cashmeerie, and have very rarely heard of theft among themselves. In their villages, anyone who have become incapacitated from old age or sickness, and who has no near relations to look after him, is supported by the community. In the cities, especially in Srinagar, food and money are

given to all of the poor who may come to ask for them from the house of those who are tolerably well off, on the 11th of every month[11], as well as on all their sacred days, and especially on the occasion of the Ede, and throughout the month of Ramadan. It were easy for me to multiply instances of this and other traits in their character worthy of admiration, but these pleasanter aspects of Cashmere are somewhat foreign to our immediate purpose, nor have I at present time to speak of them. To return, therefore:

The family of a refugee *shawl-baf* is by no means left in peace; for according to Hindoo ideas of justice, infraction of the law by any member of the community implicates all his relations. The *karkandar*, of course, immediately informs the *darogha*, in order that his tax may be decreased[12].

The *darogha* sends a sepoy to the house of fugitive and wife or mother or father, or probably all of them, are brought up before the *Dagh-shali*.

They are fined a rupee or two, or suffer a few days imprisonment, by the Government, whose cruelty and injustice have driven from them, in some cases, their almost only means of support.

Such is the case of those who fly from the valley! But how many are there who would fain fly and cannot, who are driven to their unhealthy and sometimes fatal, labour in the *karkhana* by the sepoys of the *Dagh-shali*!

Such is the loom system, and the misery which it produces! The obvious remedy for most of its evils would be the abolition of the *Dagh-shali*, and the institution of a triennial census of the *shawl-bafs*, showing how many were at that time employed by each *karkandar*. The tax, which ought to be lowered to 25 to 30 chilkee rupees on

each *shawl-baf* annually, should be collected in advance, by which arrangement the *karkandar* would be enabled to increase the number of his workmen for three years, without an increase of tax (the Government at the same time reaping the corresponding benefit of sustaining no loss by a possible decrease in the number of workmen). At the end of the first three years, the lessors would probably show an increase in the total number of *shawl-bafs*, and in the course of six or nine years, the Government revenue from the loom shawl tax would most likely be larger than it is now; and what is of more importance, the *karkandar* would be able, and should be compelled, to raise the present wages of his *shawl-bafs* to 10 to 12 chilkee rupee a month, thereby enabling them to live in their native country in very tolerable comfort: provided that the law of forced labour was abolished, and a reasonable money tax, instead of produce, taken from the *zamindars*[13].

The Hand-Work Shawl System

A *sada-baf* is the workman who makes the plain pushmina from the spun poshm, upon which the coloured threads are afterwards worked with needles by the workman who is called a *rafoogar*. The *sada-bafs* are immediately under the *darogha* of the *Dagh-shali*, and in that office a register of their names is always kept; like the *shawl-bafs*, they are neither allowed to leave the Valley nor relinquish their employment. The *sada-bafs* buy the poshm themselves from the bazaars, and manufactuer pushmina usually in their own house, sometimes employing an agent to sell it for them to the merchants and others. No pushmina can of course, be sold by them without the *Dagh-shali* stamps, the tax on which is levied at the rate of 10 chilkee rupees for 4 yards of Pushmina. Pundits are employed, similarly to those who visit the *karkans* to ascertain that no pushmina is sold

by *sada-bafs* without having paid the above tax. It is said that their visits are dreaded by the *sada-bafs*, since the Pundits oblige them to pay a sort of black-mail, under pretence of boat-hire, road expenses, etc.

When plain pushmina is brought from a *sada-baf* for the purpose of having a pattern worked upon it, or of being dyed, it must be again taken to the *Dagh-shali* where the first stamp is washed out and a paper given by the owner, in which the intended ground colour is named. As soon as it is dyed, it must be again taken to the *Dagh-shali*, and a second stamp is affixed, and a second tax of 18 chilkee rupees is levied upon the same 4 yards. The shawl work may then be completed upon it; when finished, it is taken for a fourth time to the *Dagh-shali* when the owner receives a certificate that the tax has been paid, which he is bound to give to the purchaser of the shawl, who is required to produce it at the custom-house, through which it may have to pass on its way to the Punjab or elsewhere.

The amount paid by a *rafoogar* or other to a *sada-baf* for a piece of plain pushmina is one chilkee rupee per yard, in addition to the market value of the thread, and the cost of the *Dagh-shali* stamp.

A yard cannot be made under from two to four days; the position therefore, of the *sada-baf* is but slightly better than that of his brother of the loom, but he is not allowed to leave the Valley or relinquish his trade.

The circumstances of the *rafoogar* are tolerably comfortable nor is he in the same state of serfdom as the *shawl-baf* and the *sada-baf*, being permitted the privilege of changing or giving up his trade, should he wish to do so.

REFERENCES

1. It seems to be considered a necessary branch of the education of the fair sex in Cashmere, and to be a very ancient institution among them.
2. The Cashmere name for those people is "*pooiwunee*".
3. The list of prices at the Government *kotas*, given in the last chapter, renders this apparent.
4. A *karkhana* is a house in which looms for making shawls are set up.
5. About 12 years after the change of coin.
6. By this arrangement Governmnt did not pay the difference, since only eight kharwash were than sold yearly to each *shawl-baf*. This gives 20 annas yearly from the Government to each *shawl-baf*. But, computing the wages of a *shawl-baf* at Rs.4, the difference required by him in a year would be 96 annas. Government therefore, paid somewhat less than one-third of the difference.
7. Whether the *shawl-bafs* were actually made to pay 18 annas, or only ordered to pay it, is an obscore point, upon which I can not pronounce with certainity.
8. The same evils may happen now under the 11 kharwah system, since the whole amount cannot possibly be supplied to the *darogha*, and consequently not to the *shawl-bafs*, at one time.
9. That is 'forced' in many instances; of course they do not all want to give it up.
10. The people of Cashmere are unjustly abused by interested people, who support the Jamoo Government and also by travellers, whose knowledge of them is limited to boatmen, *shikaries* and others with whom the English visitors ordinarily come in contact.
11. This custom is in rememberance of their Prophet (Saint) Das Ghyr, (Dastegir) whose shrine is in the environs of the city, near the Bagh-i-Dilawa-Khan, and is probably one of which those who thoughtlessly abuse the Cashmerie people, are entirely ignorant of.
12. Which is not done, however, untill the end of the year, even in case of death. Thus, if a *shawl-baf* dies in the first month of a year, the *karkandar* pays tax for 11 months for a dead man! and when the name of a defunct is at last erased from the *Daghshali* list, the officials of that admirable institution make the *karkandar* pay a fee to them in honor of the occasion!
13. It is unnecessary to point out the facilities for evasion of the tax as it is at present collected, by collusion between the *darogha* and the *karkandar*, which would be in a great measure removed by the institution of a teriennial census.

CHAPTER - III

Transport of Supplies for Troops

A large number of troops being usually kept in the countries of Gilgit and Astor, supplies of rice and other commodities are sent up in the autumn of every year from Cashmere for their use. *Zamindars* are pressed from every part of Cashmere to carry these supplies. They are collected by different *kardars* from the villages under their respective control, where a kind of register is kept, that each house may furnish its quota of men in turn. Those who are thus collected are paid from 4 to 7 chilkee rupees for the double journey by their *kardar*, and sent by him in charge of a *hurkara* to Bandipoor, where there is a sort of depot presided over by a Hindoo official. From him they receive their loads, with a memorandum of the amount which they have to deliver to the Governor of Astor, and from him they bring back a receipt to be presented to the official at Bandipoor. Now, since the full amount that an ordinary man can carry is given to the villager, and since little or nothing can be purchased on the road, it is obvious that he must either eat part of his load, or starve.

Nevertheless, on his return to Bandipoor, the quantity thus rendered deficient, as shown by the receipt, is taken from the *zamindar* in money[1]. The journey from Bandipoor to Astor, for laden man, occupies twelve days. Such is the ordinary system in time of peace, and if this were all, it would not perhaps, considering the far greater evils than inad-

equate payment[2], for the work that disgrace the Government of the country, be scarcely worth writing about. But when some of the frequent disturbances in Gilgit necessitate an increased number of troops, the Cashmerie *zamindars*, and others, have to suffer worse evils than a month of bad and ill-paid labour.

The last occasion was in 1866, In the summer of that year, it was supposed to be necessary to send up an unusual number of troops, and *zamindars*, boatmen and even tradesmen of the city were pressed to carry their supplies and baggage. They were sent off in a hurry, without the slightest provision being made for their lodging, clothing, or subsistance on the road, beyond their allowance of one seer of rice a day for their food and payment.

It is commonly reportred that numbers of them died on that occasion. Many of them did certainly die during that year on the Gilgit road, engaged in carrying Government stores, and the causes I have mentioned namely, want of food, shelter and clothing; but I believe that the actual time was somewhat latter—. After those who had been sent with the troops had returned to Cashmere, it was found necessary to send further supplies, it having then been determined to keep the increased number of troops there throughout the winter.

Accordingly, late in the autumn of 1866, the supplies were sent on the backs of *zamindars*, taken from the villages in the manner I have described; and many of these men died on the road from cold, exhaustion and want of food[3].

I have elsewhere taken occasion to notice this truly Hindoo like act of barbarity, but was then under the

impression that the men died during the summer, when sent with the troops to Gilgit. I did not then know that the *zamindars* had been again sent late in the autumn, at which time it appears that the deaths occured from the causes I have mentioned. The inhumanity of the authorities only appears more glaring from the fact of their having sent men without any equipment, along a road like that from Cashmere to Astor, at such a season of the year. It was necessary, no doubt to supply the troops; but if the Government arrangements were so extremely bad, that no provison had been made beforehand in a place where there is always the responsibility of an increased demand for troops, and adequate amount of equipment, clothing, and arrangement for the shelter of these who were sent up with the supplies shall have been made. But nothing of the kind was done, and the men were sent off over the passes with the heavy loads and many of them perished as I have said.

A Hindoo-like act of barbarity I have called it, since it proceeded not so much from active cruelty as from a passive carelessness to human suffering; a dull, stupid indifference like that with which the driver of the bullock waggon in Hindostan urges on his starved and yoke-galled beast, with blows and foul language, until the miserable brute falls dead on the road[4].

I have travelled that road, from Astor to Srinagar, and can testify[5] that it is one of the worst of the mountain paths which lead out of Cashmere into the interior, both on account of the steepness and height of the passes, and still more from the scarcity of villages and the unwillingness of the inhabitants to sell supplies of any kind.

I crossed the Kumori pass, which leads from the Gurais into the Astor valley in October 1867. It was covered with

snow for many miles on the Gurais side; and for two days journey on the Astor side, I saw no human habitation for at least three days in crossing from one valley to the other, and no shelter of any kind[6]. I myself with servants, coolies, tents, etc. and the advantage of fine weather, had some difficulty in the pass. We were shelterless by twilight in the middle of the snow at a great elevation; and we only succeeded in reaching a spot where tents could be pitched, by observing a part of the mountain side which we could descend rapidly, and thus reached a spot of ground free from snow as darkness came on.

Some troops had crossed a few days before me, and the number of dead tatoos by the side of the track bore witness to the difficulty they had encountered.

But it was in the month of November that these *zamindars* were sent up to Gilgit, where the pass must have been considerably worse. They were sent without the slightest provision for their shelter, clothing, or food, beyond the loads of rice which they carried on their backs. How many died,. it is of course impossible to say! What Hindoo Government would ever think of recording the names or numbers of those who had died in their service?

Picture to yourself, oh reader ! those desolate scenes where the Cashmere *zamindars* had to lay down their lives! None, save those who have seen such, can fully realise their horrors. No imagination is powerful enough to realise them; the waste, hopeless aspect of the unbounded stretch of snow; the intensely keen blast of the wind, which strikes you with the force of an eagle's wing as it sweeps down upon you through the revines; above and around you are snowy peaks and summits, and precepitous slopes of rock, upon whose edges sits the avalanche waiting for his prey.

Through such scenes heavily laden, the *zamindars* take their way. Powerful and hardy are the sons of Cashmere; patiently they toil onwards through the drifting snow, in the name of Allah and his Prophet! Many encourage each other with the words of hope; it may be that they will yet reach the other side in safety. Alas, no! From two or three the strength is already departing, and the keen wind is paralysing the sinews.

Slowly the conviction fastens upon them that they shall never quit those frightful solitudes,never see again their homes, nor those who dwelt there waiting their return, far off in the sunny vale of Cashmere!

Who dare realise such thoughts - such moments?

Let us leave the scene of death. But Oh, British reader! Forget not that these and other frightful miseries are produced by a Government whose chief is a feudatory of the British crown; by a Government which derives its permanance from the protection of the British rule; by a Government which the British power forced upon the people of Cashmere; by a Government into whose hands British statesmen sold the people of Cashmere, by a Government, therefore, whose existence is disgrace to the British name! It is at once a memorial of that foul act, when, like the arch traitor of old, we bartered innocent lives, which fate placed in our hands, for a few pieces of silver.

And it is a standing witness that we accept that act of the past, now that its consequences have been seen, and take the burden of its responsibility upon ourselves.

REFERENCES

1. I beleive, however, that it is now usual to send the supplies by the *zamindars* only as far as Gurais, from whence they are transported on ponies. What payment is on this arrangement I do not know. In proportion, I suppose, to what is, or recently was, the payment of a *zamindar* for the whole distance.

2. Grossly inadequate, certainly. A *zamindar* will ordinarly have three days journey from his village to Bandipoor, twelve days to Astor, where he will be delayed for a few days. He will also be delayed at Bandipoor, as well going as returning; therefore, the double journey from his village to Astor and back cannot take less than fifty days. For this, the *zamindars* receives from 4 to 7 chilkee rupees. Now, when an English traveller takes *zamindar* into the mountain to act as coolies (not as *shikari*, who are paid a higher rate) he usually gives them 6 Company rupees a month and *russud* or eight without *russad*. The sepoys in Astor appear to be under no control, and they illtreat the people of the country as much as they please. When I was in that district in October, 1867, I found a sepoy abusing an old man, and trying to take something from him — his shoes, I think. I called the sepoy but he would not come. He retreated to the guard house of the village, where were some other sepoys, I pursued him, and brought him to my tent, where I bound him with ropes and made him sit as a prisoner, without his *tulwar*, for sometime.

   I mention this little incident in order to remind those who feel scandalised at hearing of Englishman in Cashmere who act 'contrary to law', that throughout the dominions of the Jamoo Government there is, properly speaking, no law!

3. What of food, although they carried rice on their backs, since in the absence of fuel, and consequently of boiling water, rice is not available for food.

4. The state in which bullocks, donkeys, and dak-gharry horses are frequently seen on the public roads of Hindostan, is a disgrace to the Government of India. Their owners would be punished in England; why are they permitted to escape in India? The state of the last ought to be well-known to the present Viceroy, who patronises that mode of conveyance in his annual journeys between Simla and Calcutta.

5. There are indeed two roads from Gurais to Astor, but I was told that the one I did not see was the worst of the two; of course, I do not know which the *zamindars* took.

6. Except that when I crossed there were the remains of a few wigwans put up by troops, who had passed three or four days before, and which would be destroyed by the first storm.

CHAPTER - IV

Miscellaneous

The punishment for killing a cow used formerly to be death, but, on account, I believe, of the remonstrances of the British Government; it was changed to imprisonment for life. The method, however, of carrying out the mitigated sentence renders it scarcely more merciful than the capital penalty.

The Hindoo vengeance does not only fall upon the actual cow-killer himself, but on the whole of his family. All who in any way participated, in or were cognizant of the dead, are imprionsed with him also for life!

In addition to this, after each day's investigation into the circumstances of the so-called crime, they are crually flogged, and when consigned to prison, are branded and tortured with hot irons. Insufficient food, and general cruel treatment hasten their deaths, before which there has been, I believe no instance of anyone connected with the slaughter of cow having been released. But no formal sentence is pronounced in any case when imprisonment is awarded. Whether for small offence or great ones.

The offender is sent to prison, and neither he nor any one else knows how long he may be kept there. Possibly there are many who have been forgotten[1].

Of justice, there is, in fact, little or none. Offences against the Government or against the Hindoos are punished with

undue sevevity, while offences perpetrated by Hindoos or Government officials are either passed over, or adjudicated with partiality and injustice. There has, indeed, been recently established in Srinagar a new court for the trial of petty offences and misdemeanours, consisting of five Suni Mussulman, two Shia and three Pundits; this seems a fair distribution of religious bias. But, their power can only extend to about ten chilkee rupees fine, nor does their court in any way interfere with the power of the Chief Magistrate to imprison whoever he pleases for any cause or no cause![2]

Before the advent of British visitors this year (1868) a number of prisoners were, I believe sent in batches from the Srinagar jails to Jamoo, lest the number of prisoners, and the causes of their punishment, should be ascertained and commented upon by the European community. This, however, I cannot vouch for, although I believe it to be perfectly true.

The system of the city police resemble that of the land-tax system, in the number of different grades of officials, and consequent facilities for bribery and intimidation which it affords. There is a policeman-*myledar*-told off to every twenty to thirty houses; his business is not only to keep order, but to report to his *zilladar* all that goes on. This *zilladar* is a sort of constable, having 20 to 30 *myledars* under him ;he reports to the sub-*kotwal*, the *sub-kotwal* to the *head-kotwal*, and the last named functionary to the Chief Megistrate. If the subordinate bring a false accusation against a family or an individual, the latter will sometimes escape punishment; but their accusers are unpunished for the crime of false accusation.

The tax on the sale of land is enormously high, being 4 annas in the rupee! exclusive of the necessary douceur to the clerks, who are, of course, pundits. A marriage licence costs three rupees and about a rupee more is taken by the pundits; and in the case of a second or third marriage, in the case of the first wife or wives being alive, great difficulties are thrown in the way of the Mussulman by those officials, unless they are properly bribed; since it appears that their opinion as to the advisability of permitting a second marriage is consulted in many cases by the Magistrate. Sometimes the licence is refused unless payment of Rs. 100 or more is made[3]. In short, in this, as in most other matters, there is no law but the will of the Magistrate.

All classes of the Muslim community are tax-prayers except the tailors. Even the boatman, whose pay is only company's Rs. 2-8 a month, is taxed! Perhaps the poorest and worst off of all, except some of the *shawl-bafs,* are a class of people who live along the shores of the Anchar lake, not far from the city. They subsist on the sale of what they can procure from the lake, consisting of a coarse kind of grass for cattle, reeds which they weave into matting, and fish, which by a very recent order they are permitted to catch and sell.

For the privilege thus making use of the lake, they pay a considerable yearly tax to the Government. It was impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty of which the amount was; but that they are in a state of extreme wretchedness and poverty, and that the Government takes a considerable sum of money from them annually, is certainly true. I went into some of the cottages, and found them in as miserable a condition as the appearance of the people outside betokened- windowless, fireless, lightless, and bare!

Some children and others were shown to me suffering from different diseases. I gave them what I could, and told them to come to my house in Srinagar, so that I would take them to a hospital. They never came; they seem quite hopeless and unable to believe that any one would even do anything for them. Their food is only rice,and the course vegetables they produce in their lake gardens; and the only fuel they can procure is dried horse dung! And these prople pay taxes!

There is no lack, of fuel in this country. All round the shores of the Walar lake, magnificent forests of deodar are flourishing in luxuriant strength and beauty, but the heavy duties on wood, as on all other things which are brought into the city or its precincts, render the poorer classes utterly unable to obtain it.

And now, before closing this long list of miseries and atrocities, there is yet one other misery and atrocity and one other iniquitious source from which the Jamoo Government derives his revenue, which I shall present for consideration of the reader.

The sale of young girls in Cashmere to established houses of ill-fame, is both protected and encouraged by the Government; and it helps to swell that part of his revenue which the Maharaja derives from the wages of prostitution. The license granting permission to purchase a girl for this purpose, costs about 100 chilkee rupees, and an additional payment is, I believe, made to Government when the unfortunate victim enters her miserable career. The very fact that such slaes take place is due to the grasping and avaricious nature of the Government, since none but the very poorest and lowest classes of the people ever sell their children[4].

It is with a Government as with an individual, one crime stands not childless, but it is the fruitful parent of hundred more. Sale of children is a consequence of poverty which is produced first, by extreme taxation; and second, by the high prices of all kinds of food, which is caused by the system of taking the land produce into their own store houses.

Those who have been bought as I have described, can not ever quit that life should they desire to do so, since they cannot, of course, raise money to repay to their purchaser either the price paid for them or the license tax to Government.

It is not many years ago, since others, who had been bought, were neverthless, prohibited by Government from relinquishing their fearful calling; and were refused permission to marry, for the same reason as the *shawl-bafs* are still prevented from turning to other employment, namely the loss of the high taxes[5] which these the unfortunate classes of the people pay to Government.

I will offer no word of comment upon these things; the facts speak eloquently enough for themselves. If they fail to arouse pity and indignation and horror in the hearts of English readers, that class of people must have changed their nature since I left the civilised world eighteen months ago to travel in the Himalayas.

REFERENCES

1. All the offenders are, I am told, subjected to torture, but the actual delinquent more severely than the others.

2. An insolvant debtor is usually handed over by the court to the creditor to serve as slave.

3. This is, to the pundits. It is commonly reported that the present magistrate,Dihwan Budrinath, is above taking bribs.

4. The only class of the people who seell their children are certain of the villagers who are shoemakers and workers in leather. The other Mussulman of Cashmere consider them, to be a low and degraded race , and will not eat with them. I once asked, 'what could induce the women to sell her child and was answered, 'poverty' But no Mussulman of any other class would do such as a thing; he would rather starve!

5. Some of the nautch (dancing) girls pay 80 and 100 chilkee rupees a year. I am told that these 'unfortunate females' are now permitted to marry, and turn to a better and happier life if they wish to do so. But there can be no certainly, scarcely probability-that the Jamoo Government, which continues to derive revenues from the kind of 'sales', I have described, will not withdraw this permission and enforce its former barbarous order.

   I know of one instance in which a women who entreated the Government (officers) to be allowed to marry and lead a virtous life, was refused permission to do so. She attempted to fly with a man she wished to marry, but was prevented or brought back, and is now what she was before. I believe this took place only three years ago, and similar barbarity may again be perpetrated at any moment—a text the missionaries would do well to enlarge upon.

CHAPTER-V

Moral and Political Reasons for the permanent appointment of a Resident and Assistant to Control and Direct the Action of the Jamoo Government.

At the present time we are all indulging in a harmless, but not very dignified species of self-glorification about the Abyssinian War. The press is full of laudatory notices of England's conduct on this great occasions; we read of 'pure and holy motives', of 'disinterested action', a righteous struggle for the noblest ends, etc. A good opinion of self is, no doubt, as gratifying to a nation as it is to an individual. Neverthless, one cannot but be rather feebly reminded of the old proverb, that self-praise is no praise; and foreign nations who read our numerous self-congratulatory expressions on having for once achieved an unselfish public action, may feel tempted to say that such a course must be somewhat an unusual one with us; since its adoption provokes us to trumpet our own praises to all the four quarters of the globe, in a style that might have described some heroic and unequal struggle of a whole nation in defence of hearth and altar, or of a weak ally to whom her word was pledged! Perhaps no stronger internal evidence than this outburst of self-laudation for the performance of an act which it would have been simply disgraceful not to have done, could be found to remind to us that our character as a nation has sunk from what it was. There was a time, not so very long ago, when we, almost single handed, resisted the oppressor of Europe, and through the terrible campaign

of the Peninsula, gave freely the lives of our best and dearest, that we might at last be able to say to Despotism, "Thus far, and no further". There was a time when we, first of nations, led the way to the abolition of slavery, and at a loss and sacrifice shich we felt to be an evil and a shame from amongst us.

At that time England was looked up to as the one power whose public actions were based upon other than selfish considerations; she was honoured as the nation who would flinch from no sacfirce and from the danger to fulfill a noble object, or defend sacred cause; andshe was then undoubtedly the first of nations in the world. Her voice was first in the councils of Europe; her opinion on all great questions was waited for with eagerness, and heard with reverence. What is her position now? Others better qualified than I may answer that question. But whatever be her position in regard to power, influence, authority, no one can have the hardihood to assert that she has any longer the moral power and dignity that were once accorded her in the days when the "moral support" of England was something more than an empty sound.

No one can imagine that she retains the character of a generous and high-minded nation, so far as her public conduct is concerned.

Perhaps she does not care whether she retains it or not. But the frantic delight into which she seems to have been thrown by having actually done something which she need not be ashamed of, would seem to indicate the contrary; and it induces me to entertain a faint hope that she sill retains a sufficient regard for 'pure and holy motives' to induce her to perform that act of justice and mercy which such motives

call upon her to undertake in behalf of the people of Cashmere, whom, in the year 1846, she sold into a slavery but little less oppressive and detestable than that which she abolished from her domains in the West.

That such is the true light in which the question of interference with the Jamoo Government ought to be viewed, it is now my task to show.

Cashmere was sold to Gulab Singh under the following circumstances:-

By the conditions made with the Lahore Durbar, after the first Punjab War, a certain sum of money was demanded by the British Government to defray the expenses of the campaign, but the Durbar being unable to refund the full amount, it was resolved to take Cashmere and certain neighbouring hill states in lieu of the deficiency, and to transfer these to Gulab Singh for an equivalent sum, which arrangement presented the further advantages of reducing the power of the Sikhs, and of gaining Gulab singh as our ally.

In Cunnigham's *"Historry of Sikhs"* there is the following passage :-

> *"As two-thirds of the pecuniary indemnity required from Lahore could not be made good, territory was taken instead of money, and Cashmere and the hill states, from the Beas to the Indus, were cut off from the Punjab and transferred to Gulab Singh as a separate soverign, for a million of pounds sterling. The arrangement was a dextrous*

one, if reference he only had to the policy of reducing the power of the Sikhs; but the transaction seems scarecely worthy of the British name and greatness, and the objections become stronger when it is considered that Gulab Singh had agreed to pay 68 lacs of rupees as a fine to his paramount before the war broke out, and that the custom of the East as well as the West requires the feudatory to aid his Lord in foreign war and domestic strife. Gulab sigh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore province as an independent prince".

Such is the plain historical statement of the outward facts connected with the sale of Cashmere; but there are certain other considerations which give that transaction a peculiarly odious aspect, and render it a dark stain upon the history of the British rule in India. These are:

First, that in no portion of the treaty made with Gulab Singh was the slightest provision made for the just or humane Government of the people of Cashmere and others, upon whom we forced a Government which they detested.

For purposes entirely selfish, we deliberately sold millions of human beings into the absolute power of one of the meanest, most avaricious, cruel, and unprincipled of men that ever sat upon a throne.

Second that after our expulsion from Cabul (Kabul), and the murder of Shah Shoojah, a Government proclamation

was issued that Dost Mohammad's accession to the throne was sanctioned by the British Government, —because principle and policy alike forbade that power to force a ruler upon a reluctant people.

Five years had not passed when, by the treaty of 16th March, 1846 we proclaimed the miserable hypocrisy of the statement by which we had vainly sought to hide our weakness when Dost Mohammad regained his rightful kingdom.

It was contrary to our principle to force a ruler upon the wild and turbulent Afghans, to whom any settled Government would have been a blessing, and who would not have suffered any ruler to oppress them with impunity. But Lord Hardinge and Sir Henry Lawrence failed to perceive that there was aught unjustifiable in forcing upon the weak and unresisting people of Cashmere, not a ruler who, like our Afghan puppet, was of the same race, the same religion, the same people those upon whom we sought to impose him; but one of a creed between which and that of Islam the most deeply rooted antipathies exist, rendering any sympathy, or any cordiality, or any sentiment other than disgust and hatred, utterly and for every, impossible between the governing and governed classes.

Nor was it a ruler only whom we forced upon a reluctant people, but the crowd of rapacious and unprincipled ministers, coutiers, hangers on of every grade who followed the fortune of Gulab Singh. These, raised like himself from the lowest classes, and invested with the titles of *Diwan*, *Wazir*, *Tehsildars* etc, decended upon Cashmere like a flock of hungry vultures; and swept away the prosperity and happiness of its people; and their decendants are worthy of their

ancestors. The, *diwans, tehsildars, thanedars* etc, who rule Cashmere, are, as a rule, avaricious, mean and crurel; wholly untrustworthy and powerless, apparetnly to conceive of the ideas of truth and justice. Finally, we did not, as in the case of our Afghan interference, force upon Cashmere a ruler who was to govern by our advice, and was bound to attend to our suggestions, but one whom, by the terms of the treaty, we rendered irresponsible for any outrage or injustice he or his ministers might choose to commit, with regard to the internal administration of the country.

The third consideration which makes the sale of Cashmere yet more iniquitous, is the character of the man into whose absolute power we sold the people of that country.

In support of the terms I have previously used in describing the nature of Gulab Singh, I shall quote the following passage from Mr. Lepal Griffin's *Punjab Chiefs*, an official work compiled and published by order of the Punjab Government:-

> *'There are perhaps no charecters in history more repulsive than Raja Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh (brother). Their splended talents, and their undoubted bravory, count as nothing in the presence of their atrocious cruelty, their avarice, their teachery, and their unscruplus ambition.*

> *'The history of the seige of the Lahore is too well known to be repeated here. For seven days the garrison held out bravely against the whole Sikh army, which lost in the assult a*

great number of men, and it was not till Raja Dhyan Singh returned from Jamoo that negociations were opened, by which Sher Singh ascended the throne and Rani Chand Kour resigned her claim.

'Gulab Singh, laughing in his sleeve at the sucess of his and his brother's plans, marched off to Jamoo amidist the curses of the Sikh army, carrying with him a great part of the treasure, principally jewels, which Maharaja Ranjit Singh had stored in the past, and which plunder, five years later, helped to purchase Cashmere!'

After the investment of Gulab Singh as Maharaja at Amritsar, he sent some regiments to take possession of Srinagar and to take over the forts, etc. from Shaikh Imam-u-din. Whether the Sheikh had received information from the Lahore Durbar regarding the change of masters which Cashmere had suffered, it is impossible to say; at all events he refused to admit Gulab Singh's forces into the city or to acknowledge their master as having any authority in Cashmere. Upon the refusal of the Dogras to quit the valley, the gallant Sheikh sailed forth at the head of his troops; and an engagement was fought at the back of the Huree Singh Bagh, in which the Dogras were completely routed, and one or two leaders of note were killed[1]. A large number of prisoners were taken to whom the Cashmeries say, the Sheikh gave money and clothing to enable them to reach the Punjab, and that in a few day's time there was not a single Dogra left in the valley[2]. When news of this event reached Gulab Singh, he applied to the British Government for assistance, to enable him to take possession of his

kingdom,and an order was sent to the Sheikh by the British requiring him to yield obedience to the new sovereign of Cashmere,or to consider himself as an enemy of the British Power. The Sheikh wisely choose the former alternative, and Gulab Singh's troops were permitted to occupy Srinagar in peace.

From that period, as I have shown in chapter I and II, the misfortunes and miseries of Cashmere commenced. The change of coin, the increased taxation, the increased prices, the shutting up of the *kotas*, the mismanagement and oppression of the *Dagh-shali*, the restrictions in the amount of rice purchaseable yearly by *shawl-bafs*, the consequent order that no *shawl* or *sada-bafs* might leave either his employement or the Cashmere valley, and similar orders regarding the *nautch* girls.

All these miseries and atrocities date from the commencement of the iniquitous reign of Gulab Singh!

The Sheikh Imam-u-din was a Mussulman, and had been, I am told, appointed Governor of Cashmere, by Sher Singh. Under his rule the country was well and justly governed. The *shawl bafs* and other classee were allowed to purchasae as much rice as they required, nor were any of the people hindered from leaving the valley[3]. From his beneficient Government we took Cashmere and plunged it into all the miseries which it has since suffered.

The Cahmeries, in speaking of these things, do not seem animated with any unjust or undue feeling against the Maharaja himself; and in speaking of the misfortunes of their country, the well informed amongst them always date their origin from the alteration of the old coin by Gulab Singh.

The manner in which that was carried out paved the way for all the oppression of which I have given an account. That, they always say, was the beginning of evils. Still less are they inclined to blame the present Maharaja for the evil administration under which they suffer; nor do I, except as far as the ignorance of a ruler regarding the people under him involves a neglect of sacred duties and responsibilities amounting to guilt. The immediate criminality rests with the executive officers throughout Cashmere and its dependent states, but, I believe, in a much higher degree with the ministers who are located at Jamoo.

The Home Government!

* * *

Let us pause here for a moment to review our position. I have, I think, conclusively shown that the cry of oppression in Kashmir, so far from being nonsensical as was falsely declared by the *Calcutta Englishman* of 12 February, 1868- has but too good cause for its efforts to obtain a hearing - efforts which would seem to have been hitherto in vain, alike in their appeal to the justice of the British Government, and the humanity of the Anglo-Indian public.

I have also shown that we deliberately forced upon a more than 'reluctant' people and depotic Government of the very worst description, at whose head was a ruler of a character held infamous, even by natives of the East.

I have therefore, I conceive, shown that towards the people of Cashmere we have committed a wanton outrage, a gross injustice, and an act of tyrannical oppression, which violates every human and honourable sentiment, which is opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilisation, and is in direct opposition to every tenet of the religion we profess.

It remains for us to ascertain whether reparation towards those whom we have thus injured be still possible without the committing of any fresh piece of injustice.

[The copy of the treaty (Amritsar) of March 1846, is given in *Wrongs of Cashmere*, at page no. 59, hence not printed here for repeatation-Publishers]

That Article IV of the above treaty has been in more than one instance broken by the Jamoo Government, the following extract from Major Cunningham's *Ladakh*[4] will, I conceive sufficiently prove;

> *'In the autumn of 1846 - during the rebellion of Sheikh Imamudin in Cashmere, there was a slight disturbance in Zanskas (Zanskar), which was promptly repressed by the vazier Basti Ram, who is now one of the confidential servants of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Since then the whole country has been quite and the passive Thibetans (Tibetians - Ladakhis) have yielded to a power which they find is unsafe to resist. The neighbouring countries of Gilgat and Chillas have been added to the Maharaja's kingdom; and the same prince whose dominions only 20 years ago were limited to the pity state of Jamoo, now rules undisputed master of Cashmere and western Thibet (Gilgat and Ladakh - now known as), from the sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgat river'.*

There are instances in which the Jamoo Governmment has violated the Treaty of 1846; but there is another of more recent occurance, and which is not generally known in India, and of which the home authorities must be in total ignorance.

In accordance with Article II of the Treaty, three officers were appointed by the British Government to survey and determine the 'limits of the eastern boundary of the tract transferred to the Maharaja'. These were, Major Cunningham, Lieutenant Strachery, and Dr. Thompson. The map therefore, published by the Major Cunningham with his work on *Ladakh* (to which I have just referred), may be considered to show correctly, not only to eastern boundary, but the limits of those other portions of the Maharaja's, dominions which he helped to survey, as they existed at the time such survey was made.

The north-eastern boundary of the Maharaja's dominion is defined in Major Cunningham's map to be the watershed of the Kara-Koram range. Even without the authority of that map, I am justified in assuming that to have been the north-eastern boundary of the Jamoo territories, both because it is the natural boundary of the country of Nubra and its northern valley and ravines, and because the Kara-Koram has always been considered as the farthest limit of the Ladakh district by the Yarkundis, who dwell on the other side. However in 1865, the Jamoo Government despatched a small body of troops across the Kara-Koram with orders to occupy garrisoned fort there, which was done.

Shah'dula is about three day's journey beyond the Kara-Koram pass. The fort was provisioned and ocupied by the Jamoo troops during the summer of 1865 and 1866, the force being withdrawn in the winter on account of severity of the climate. Towards the end of 1866 the newly established ruler of Yarkund and Kashgar had taken in the country of Koten (Khotan) and had further strengthed himself by the expulsion or conciliation of those who were disaffected towards the Government. It was therefore prob-

ably from prudential motives that the Jamoo troops were not sent to re-occupy their new fort in the spring of 1867.

Sometime during that year, Yaqub Beg sent a handful of men to Shah'dula, who destroyed the fort and took the supplies and stores with which it was furnished[5].

It is true that a Government map has recently been published which shows the boundary line of the Maharaja's territory in his direction to lie-along the Kara-Kash River, and which consequently includes Shah'dula within the Maharaja's dominions. but this map was not published untill the end of 1866, whereas the Maharaja's force went to Shah'dula and erected and garrisoned the fort in the Spring of 1865, or earlier. The existence of this map, therefore, cannot be pleaded as having given the Jamoo Government any authority for such extension of territory.

The map in question was founded upon a survey made by Mr. Johnson in the year 1865, after the occupation of Shah'dula by the Jamoo garrison; and the boundary line therein laid down is entirely at variance with that shown in the map which accompanies Major Cunningham's work on *Ladakh*, which was published by the Government authority in 1854.

The title of the map is
Map of
The Punjab Western Himalaya
and
adjoining part of the Thibet.
From recent surveys, and based upon the trignometerical survey of India
compiled by order of the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company
by Jhon Walker
Geographer to the Company.

The fact then remains, that the Treaty of March, 1846 has been in several instances broken by the Jamoo Government; and it, therefore, follows that the British Government is not bound by that Treaty to abstain from that interference with the affaris of Cashmere, with the miserable condition of the people, the impediments thrown in the way of traders, the exclusion of English travellers, etc. have now for so long demanded[6].

It may be pleaded by the supporters of the Maharaja, that the countries of Gilgit, Chilas and Astor were annexed by his father many years ago, and that no notice having been taken at the time, it would now be an ungracious act on the part of the British Government to make such infringement of the Treaty to a ground for interference. With regard to the matter of the Shah'dula fort, it may be urged that so slight an aggression into a barren and deserted region can scarely constitue an infraction of the Treaty sufficient to justify the interference of the Britih Government with the Maharja'a internal administration.

To these and similar considerations the following answers appear to be sufficient:

> Ist. That the Government of the Maharaja has shown itself incapable for just or humane rule.
>
> 2nd. That the Government of the Maharaja has for many years pursued a system of oppression and misrule under the protection and countenance of the British Government.
>
> 3rd. This has consequently become a stigma and a reproach to the British Government, both

among the European and native community of India.

4th. That there are no means of rendering the administation of the Jamoo Governement consonant with that which should distinguish a power protected by the British Government (see article IX of the Treaty) except those of active intereference.

5th. That the British Government committed an act of gross injustice in forcing that rule of Gulab Singh upon a reluctant people.

6th. That, therefore, to forego the power of making reparation to the people we injured, which the infractions of the Treaty give to the British Government, would be an act of injstuce and creulty scarcely inferior to that which we perpetrated when we sold the people of Cashmere into the slavery of Gulab Singh by the iniquitous Treaty of 1846.

In a word, we cannot exercise generosity towards the Jamoo Government without committing a fresh injustice towards the people to whom we owe reparation.

With regard to the matter of the Shah'dula fort, it should be remembered that, although a slight instance in itself, yet little things have sometimes led to great wars; and that since by article IX of the Treaty, the British Government is to protect the Maharaja against all external enemies, it is obvious that such little encroachments as that of Shah'dula might plunge us into war with all the Mussulman tribes of

Central Asia. The Pall Mall Gazette remarks, without any particular comment; "We believe that it has just been ruled that the Maharaja is at liberty to hold whatever foreign relations he may care to entertain without reference to us" Evidently, the Pall Mall Gazette must be totally ignorant of the nature of the Treaty of 1846 since a glance at article IX will convince any one that, if the Maharaja is permitted to enter into whatever foreign relations he may please to entertain, he may at any time plunge us into a war with Turkistan, or Bokhara, or with Russia herself.

Suppose, for example, that next year the Maharaja were to send a few troops to occupy a portion of the country beyond his Gilgit boundary; and that Russia had conquered Budukashan, and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with that country and Bokhara, and that a force subsidized by a few regiments of Cossacks and Kirghings (Kazaks and Kirghis), officered by Russians, was sent to chastise the Jamoo Chief for his termerity by annexing to Russia the Bokhara territory, say only Gilgit and Astor, and the valley of the Indus so far as to include Skardo, we should have a pretty little mountain campaign cut out for us, with more formidable opponents than the undisciplined robbers of the Hazara, who are now giving us the trouble of beating them. It is possible that, in the event of such a contingency, our home authorities would reconsider their verdict, that the Maharaja has 'right to entertain that foreign relations he pleases, etc. ; and it may be as well to remember this, that if the Shah'dula affair is not considered of sufficient importance to release us from whatever engagement of non-interference may be implied in Article I of the Treaty? we cannot at any future time plead that any similar act of aggression on the part of the Jamoo Government is a violation of the Treaty and sufficient importance to release

us from our arrangements contained in Article IX, by which we are bound to protect the Maharaja's Government against all external enemies!

It is to be hoped, however, that our relations with Russia will be those of peace, not war; and that we shall, at no distant period, co-operate with her in spreading the blessing of civilisation and settled Government among oppressed people and savage tribes[7]. Should such be our happy destiny, the importance of free trade and unrestricted transit (for Englishmen as well as natives) through Ladakh and Cashmere must be evident enough.

On this subject, the following extract from a Russian paper called the *Golos*, of December 1866, which I have taken from a late number of the *Calcutta Review*, is interesting and important:-

> *'An amicable division between Russia and England is quite practicable. What has not been conquered by one power might, without any opposition, be conquered by the other, more especially as the advantages of such acquisitions are contested by many.*
>
> *'We even do not see any reason for dissatisfaction in the possibility of our Central Asiatic frontier soon forming the boundary of the Anglo-Indian empire. Such a frontier would, at all events, determine the commercial fields for the disposal of English and Russian production and would considerably weaken, if not altogether remove, all dangerous rivalry. That the sale under such circumstances of*

English and Russian productions would rapidly increase, is evident. The chief obstacles to trade in this region are the incessant depredations and rapacious exations made by petty Asiatic despots.

'All these drawbacks must at once disappear under English and Russian rule, and then an interchange of commodities will freely take place.

'The expansions of the frontier to a mutual point of contact between English and Russian territory, will not only decrease the chances of collision between Russia and England but also conduce to amity and a feeling of friendship between those countries, seeing more especially that a conflict between them in such a distant region would be disadvantages to both, and only lead to mutual losses'.

REFERENCES

1. One of these was the Wuzeer Sukput; he was buried where the *fakeer's* house stands, half way down the long avenue; and the *fakeer* receives, I believe, a hand allowance to say prayers over the grave.

2. Except a few who remained shut up in the fort, where they had taken refuge.

3. The Cashmeries say that the country was then so prosper that the people of the Punjab used to come up and settle in Cashmere, but now the Cashmeries are forced to fly to the Punjab.

4. Alexender Cunningham, *Ladakh* with notices of the surrounding country, London, 1856, chapter XII, page 355.

5. The latest account from Yarkand say that the Koosh Beg endeared himself to his subjects by the strict justice of his administration and by abolition of the above market, which was formerly held in the Yarkund bazar. He is said to be engaged in massing his forces at Kashgar, his fronter town, distant about seven marches from Kokand, which is occupied by the Russians.

6. Not only are English tourists, sportmen, scientific men, etc, excluded from the Maharaja's dominions during six months of the year, but English and French traders also, although native traders from the Punjab and elsewhere pass unquestioned. Of course, all the natives of the hill states, and possibly many of the Punjab itself, explain this extraordinary fact by supposing that the British Government is unable or afraid to demand from the Cashmere Raja, that which common courtesy would seem to require from him. Is it very improbable that the insolence and outrages of the frontier tribes have been increased, or in some instances caused, by this mistaken estimate of our position with regard to the Maharaja of Cashmere? an estimate which the Government of India does its best to foster, by not only excluding all its servants from the Jamoo dominions during the winter but by limiting the number of those who wish to travel there during the summer.

7. See M. Vainberg's description of slave life and slave trade in Central Asia, which Russia is already, even amid the diffcalties of her first advance among hostile and barborous nations, treading down beneath her feet.

Conclusions

It is impossible to avoid drawing mental contract between the carelss indifference with which, on the occasion of the sale of Cashmere, the question of moral rights was complacently ignored both by the Government and the public, and the virtuous indignation into which it seems that a large party of the former and small proportion of the latter, are thrown at the idea of any transgression of legal right with regard to interference in the affairs of Cashmere...........

That our failure in imbuing the natives of India with any regard for the spirit of Christianity has been almost complete, the conduct of the wealthy land owners of Bengal seems sufficiently to prove, I quote, from the *Friend of India* of the 20th August, 1868:-

'No language can be too strong to characterise the selfishness and apathy of the *zamindars* in the inundated districts to the south of Calcutta and in Midnapore, as on the ocasions of the cyclone of 1864, the Orissa famine of 1866, the Nuddea inundations and the cyclone of 1867, the wealthy landholders of Bengal have been found wanting ....

...There is only one question to be asked and answered, with regard to the work, and that is, Are the statements here in contained concerning the Jamoo Government true or untrue? And there is only one method by which that question can be answered, namely by the course which I have myself pursued, of strict and laborious investigation in Cashmere itself.

Should that be done, as it is my earnest wish that it may be by a Government Commission, the truth or untruth of the charges I have brought against the Jamoo Government will be ascertained.

Of the fertility of the Maharaja's promises, there has been ample proof in the fact that none of these made to Sir Robert Montgomery in 1864, concerning reduction of duties, etc., were kept. The Maharaja affirmed that he had given orders to his officials to carry out the promises, etc. but Dr. Caylay's report from Ladakh, for the season of 1867, showed that no improvement upon the old system had been attempted.

The Maharaja is, therefore, unable to control his officers in Ladakh, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he is likewise unable to control them in Cashmere! Nay, it is not just to suppose that the Maharaja's officials in all parts of his dominions act systematically in defiance of their Maharaja's orders and wishes; since the Maharaja is represented as of a humane and benevolent disposition, and desirous to promote the well being of the subjects for whom he feels himself responsible

When, then the Maharaja is manifestly unable to carry out his intentions, how thankful he will doubtless feel to the British Government, should they resolve upon furnishing him with the means of protecting his people (for whose welfare he is so laubrobly anxious) from the rapacity of ministers and officails who must undoubtly (if the character the Maharaja claims for himself be true) conduct every branch of the administration in a manner dyameterically opposed to the visiting of H.H. the Maharaja of Cashmere and Jamoo.

REFERRENCES

1. See the proclamation of the Maharaja of Cashmere, which was published in the *Lahore Chronical* of the 28th December, 1867, in which it is said that the good of his subjects, which are the good gifts of Almighty, and the happiness, and supporting the poorer classes, lie on his (the Maharaja's) shoulders as a burden!

Let us leave the scene of death. But, O British reader! Forget not that these and frigh ful miseries are produced by a Governmen which derives to permanance from the protec tion of the British rule; by a Government whic the British Power forced upon the people o Kashmir; by a Government into whose hand British statesman sold the people of Kashmir by a Government, therefore, whose existence is disgrace to the British name! It is at once a memorial of that foul act, when, like the arch traitor of old, we (the Britishers) bartered innocent lives, which fate placed in our hands, for a few pieces of silver.

At that time England was looked up to as the one power whose public actions were based upon other than selfish considerations; she was honored as the nation who would flinch from no sacrifice and from the danger to fulfill a noble object, or defend sacred cause; and she was then undoubtly the first of nations in the world. What is her position now? She sold the people of Kashmir, in year 1846, into a slavery, which she earlier abolished from her domains in the west!

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